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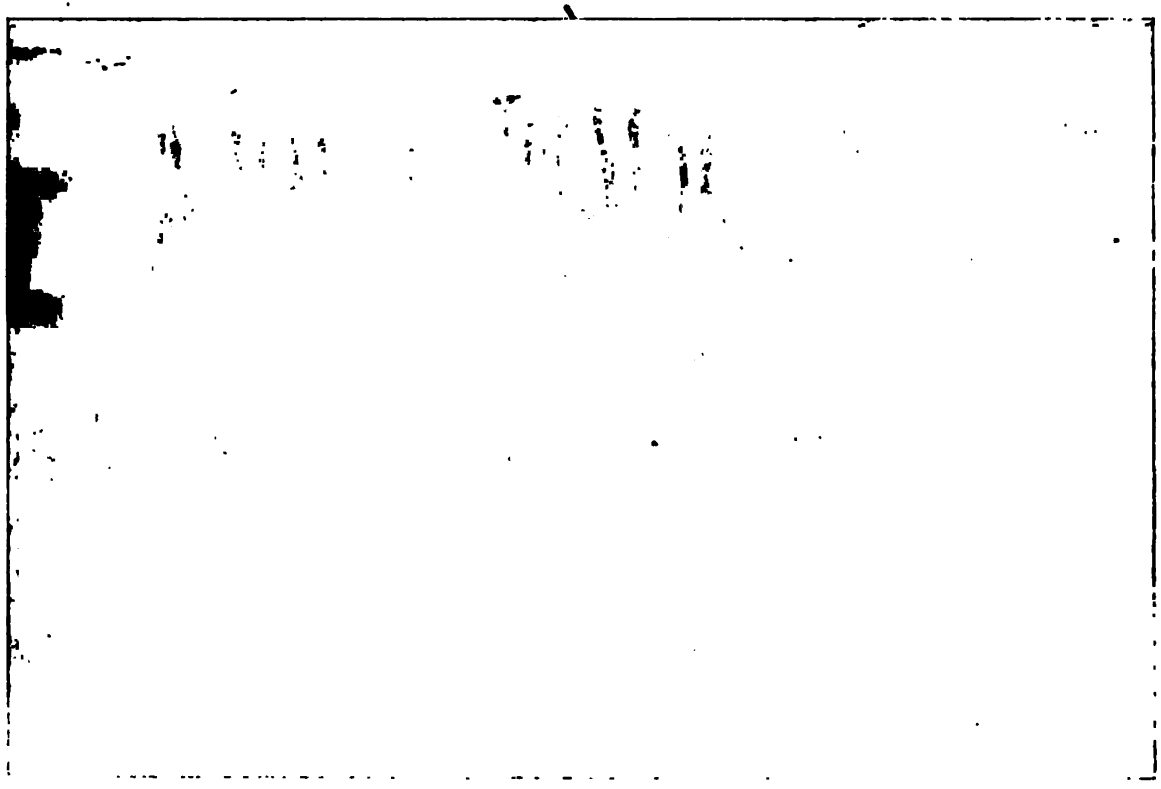
CHINA AND THE POWERS

OFFICERS AND MEN OF 1ST BENGAL LANCERS. [*Frontispiece.*

CHINA AND THE POWERS



CHINA AND THE POWERS

A NARRATIVE OF THE OUTBREAK OF 1900

BY

H. C. THOMSON

AUTHOR OF 'THE CHITRAL CAMPAIGN' ETC.

WITH THIRTY ILLUSTRATIONS AND TWO MAPS

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PREFACE

THIS brief account of the outbreak in Northern China is based for the most part upon letters, written at the time and afterwards, to the 'Manchester Guardian,' and upon articles in the 'Contemporary' and in the 'Monthly Review,' which I have been kindly permitted to use.

I have not attempted any account of the Siege of Peking, and I have only given a mere epitome of the Seymour Expedition, inasmuch as there have already been full narratives of both; but I have described at considerable length the investment and bombardment of the foreign settlements at Tientsin, and the assault and capture of the Tientsin native city, as they were of great interest; nor, so far as I know, has there as yet been any detailed description of them.

For the sake of clearness I have arranged what I have written under three heads: an account of the actual military operations; a discussion of the policies adopted by the various Powers; and a consideration of the position and rights of the Christian

missionaries in China, whose future status is one of the urgent questions with which the Powers have yet to deal; the claim of the Chinese Government to have it regarded from their point of view, as well as from that of the missionaries, having acquired additional force from the recent refusal of the British Government to admit missionaries into the Sudan, and from the action of the French Government towards various religious orders in France. I have tried throughout to present the Chinese view of the different matters in dispute equally with that of the Powers, it being impossible not to feel that the responsibility for the terrible tragedy of last year does not by any means rest wholly upon China.

For my illustrations I am chiefly indebted to MR. HAMILTON BERNERS and MR. L. FOSTER, two young Englishmen who were travelling at the time in the East, and who managed to get up to Peking within a few days of the relief of the Legations.

The two Chinese pictures were taken from a Chinaman who was apprehended and punished for distributing inflammatory placards in Shanghai. They were kindly given to me by MR. HEWETT, a member of the Shanghai Municipal Council.

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CHINA AND THE POWERS

CHAPTER I

CHINESE AVERSION TO FOREIGNERS—GROUNDS FOR NATIONAL IRRITATION—FORMATION OF THE BOXER ASSOCIATION—MURDER OF MR. BROOKS—PAO-TING-FU AND LANG-FANG MASSACRES—SEYMOUR EXPEDITION.

'Do you think this trouble is over now?' I asked a Chinaman of high position last October in Tientsin. He had been educated abroad, and spoke English perfectly. 'Over,' he said, 'over! Why, I think this has only been a big preface. It may seem very dreadful to you Europeans, all this frightful devastation and slaughter, but I cannot help thinking that for China it has been really a blessing in disguise. We are accustomed to slaughter, and it has been much worse in our own internal revolutions—in the Tai-ping Rebellion, for instance—than it has been now. What was needed was some terrible national humiliation, such as the sack of Peking, to awaken China from her long sleep, and I hope and believe that she really is awakening at last, that her sufferings now will prove to be the agony of a new birth.' He was a Cantonese, and the Cantonese are the most progressive of all Chinamen; but that such ideas

should be entertained by any Chinaman at all is significant of the change that is taking place; and it may indeed be that China is preparing herself for a period of national regeneration such as Japan has undergone. That is what makes the recent revolt so interesting in character; it was essentially a national uprising, an endeavour to obtain freedom from a foreign interference which to the bulk of the people has always been utterly hateful. The bitterness of their aversion has only been intensified by all that has taken place, and unless some means can be found to convince them that the foreigners are not the barbarians they think them to be—that they are not actuated solely by a desire to plunder China—the prospects of peace and of resultant security and prosperity are gloomy in the extreme; nor will they ever improve until the grievances have been righted which have aroused in the Chinese so keen a resentment. It was these grievances that led to the formation of the so-called Boxer Association, which originated two years ago in the province of Shantung. Both that province and the metropolitan province of Chih-li, in which are the cities of Peking and Tientsin, are comparatively poor, and the bad harvests of the last few years had given rise to a great deal of distress, which became very acute in the winter and spring of 1900. This the people put down to the interference of the hated foreigners and their railways and telegraphs with the Feng-shui, the tutelary deities, or rather the occult and incomprehensible

essences inherent in land and water. When a rich Chinaman builds a house he chooses a site, not because it is well sheltered or likely to be healthy, but because the soothsayers tell him that there the Feng-shui will be propitious. Another, too, of their most cherished beliefs, the worship of their ancestors, had been shocked by the disturbance of their tombs by the railway lines under process of construction; for the Chinese do not bury their dead in cemeteries, but each family has its own little burial-place, its Cave of Machpelah, somewhere within the land belonging to it, and, China being a country of small landowners, these graves are dotted about indiscriminately, and form one of the principal obstacles to railway enterprise. Complaints were also rife that the people were not only obliged to part with their land against their wish, but that the greater part of the purchase money found its way into the hands of railway and Yamen officials. Their dislike of the railways manifested itself in a very curious way at the beginning of the uprising. When the Boxers destroyed the station on the Peking line, the first thing they did was to tear up the tickets; for, said they, if there are no tickets, people will no longer be able to travel.

This feeling of irritation grew in strength as the different railway lines for which concessions had been granted began to be constructed, and Sir C. Macdonald telegraphed to the Marquis of Salisbury on February 15, 1900: 'It is reported that there has

been a popular rising against the German railway in Shantung Province. Two hundred German troops were yesterday despatched to Kiao-Chau city.' That rising was natural enough, for a rumour had been spread about all through the interior that to make the railway bridges secure it was necessary to bury children under their foundations. In consequence, three Chinamen were lynched at Wu-Chang, on June 4, on suspicion of having furnished the bodies of children for the bridges on the Peking–Hankow Railway. This superstition is not unknown in other countries; it is fairly widely spread.

Added to these causes of irritation was an ever-present anger against the missionaries for their denunciation of ancestor worship, and more particularly against the Roman Catholics for using their political influence on behalf of their converts in all kinds of litigation and personal disputes, thereby arousing the bitter antagonism of the Chinese priests, especially of the Buddhists, who have throughout been the mainstay of the Boxer association; one of its proclamations declaring that, 'the Catholic and Protestant religions being insolent to the gods, and extinguishing sanctity, rendering no obedience to Buddhism, and enraging both heaven and earth, the rain-clouds no longer visit us; but eight million spirit soldiers will descend from heaven, and sweep the Empire clean of all foreigners.'

Moreover, the ill-advised concession which the Roman Catholics were able about three years ago to

extort from the Chinese Government, that their clergy should be entitled to mandarin rank, and that their bishops should have the rank and status of a governor of a province, and their missionaries that of a Tao-tai, or magistrate, was productive of a great increase of the already existent ill-feeling. The same rank was offered by the Chinese Government to our Protestant bishops and missionaries, but Lord Salisbury, after consultation with the Archbishop of Canterbury, declined to permit them to accept it, as it might lead to an undesirable assumption of political power. All these causes put together lit up the smouldering hatred of all foreign devils which is one of the strongest sentiments a Chinaman has; and a secret society was formed in Shantung, called the 'I'ho-Ch'uan,' or 'Righteous Harmony Fists,' which allied itself to an already existing society, the 'Ta-tao-hui,' or 'Great Sword,' an association for the expulsion and extermination of foreigners. From Shantung the movement spread like a flame through the whole of the north and centre of China, men belonging to it being known to have been in the city of Tientsin, who had come all the way from the distant province of Hupeh. Membership was not confined to men, but was extended equally to women, who have been from the beginning its most ardent supporters. And in addition to its anti-foreign propaganda it became also a crusade against native converts to Christianity, more especially Roman Catholics, many of whom have suffered martyrdom with an unflinching heroism.

The Europeans in China gave to the members of this secret association the convenient name of 'Boxers.' They treated them at first with ridicule and contempt, only a few perceiving how dangerous they might become, but amongst the Chinese they have never lacked influential support. Yu-Hsien, the Governor of Shantung, was their chief upholder in their early days. After the murder of Mr. Brooks he was censured, and removed from office, as a nominal mark of the Imperial displeasure; but that this so-called punishment was only a blind, and that the movement was in reality viewed favourably by the Empress Dowager and the clique of Manchu Ministers who had then forcibly usurped the government of China, was shown by his subsequent speedy appointment to be Governor of the important province of Shansi, and still more by the leadership of the society being accepted by Prince Tuan, the father of the present heir-apparent. After this Chinese officials everywhere were supplanted by Manchus; amongst other changes the two Manchu brothers, Yu-Lu and Yu-Chang, being sent to replace the then Chinese Governors of Chili-li and Honan.

Some knowledge of the Boxer movement makes intelligible what would otherwise be hard to understand; how it is that the Chinese, who made so feeble a stand against Japan, made so much more effectual a resistance to all the Allied Powers.

The Japanese war was purely a war of diplomacy, in which neither the superstitions nor the prejudices of the people were called into operation. The recent

campaign, on the contrary, has been a war essentially with the *people* of Northern China, who have carried the Government along with them; a war of religious fanaticism, and as difficult to suppress as all such wars are (for the Boxers, it should be mentioned, believed firmly that they were under the protection of the avenging deities, and consequently invulnerable).

Late in December 1899 Mr. Brooks, one of the missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, was murdered near Taian-fu, and all through the following spring disturbances took place both in Shan-tung and Chih-li, which culminated towards the end of May in the murder of a number of missionaries, mining engineers, and native converts, at Pao-ting-fu and Lang-fang. A party of twenty-three engineers and their wives, employed on the Lu-Han Railway, succeeded with great difficulty in getting into Tientsin on May 31, after suffering incredible hardships on the way; a M. Ossent, a Swiss, Madame Astier, his sister, and five others being killed during their retreat. They had been six days on the way, and had been attacked continuously by the Boxers, of whom they had killed a good many; the villagers showing much surprise that they should be able to wound these supposed invulnerable beings. Nevertheless, the people in many places did what they could to help the fugitives, and on the last day of their journey, when they succeeded in getting a boat, a Chinese boatman came with them to take charge of

it. One of them, M. Cadei, had been a fellow-traveller with me in one of the steamers of the Messageries Maritimes. Several of the other passengers and myself had seen him off only a few weeks before at Shanghai, full of hope and of interest in his new work, for he had never been in China before. We little dreamt, any of us, of the sad fate that was before him. His death was the more sad as he was a married man, and has left a wife and children to mourn for him in France. He lost his life in a gallant endeavour to save that of Madame Astier. About the same time news came from Lang-fang that Mr. Norman and Mr. Robinson, two missionaries, like Mr. Brooks, belonging to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, who had refused to leave their native converts, had been killed, and that eight American and three British missionaries had also been massacred at Pao-ting-fu. A party of twenty-five Cossacks was thereupon sent out to help the fugitives into Tientsin, but was obliged to return with one officer, Lieutenant Blonsky, and two men wounded. This caused a premature eruption of the insurrectionary movement, the time originally fixed for it being the 9th day of the 9th Moon—viz. October 30—that day being deemed especially propitious by the soothsayers.

Affairs now assumed such a threatening aspect that a mixed force was sent up from the warships of the different Powers assembled outside the bar at Taku, at the mouth of the Peiho River, to occupy the foreign settlements at Tientsin; and seventy-five men

of each of the different nationalities were forwarded on to Peking to act as guards for their respective Legations.

From this time onwards the attitude of the Chinese Government became increasingly favourable to the Boxers, who were swarming in thousands all around Peking. The last train left that city on June 3, and on the 4th General Nieh, who had been sent out ostensibly with orders to suppress the insurgents, was reprimanded by the Dowager-Empress, and ordered back to his army head-quarters at Lutai, because he had attacked and defeated the Boxers with a loss of 480 men; and Sir C. Macdonald, the British Ambassador, in the last despatch received from him, stated that the revolt had assumed alarming proportions, and that the attitude of the Chinese Government towards it was very doubtful.

The Legation guards arrived on May 31, but their coming failed to produce the quieting effect anticipated, and the Boxers became every day more and more violent, until at last, on June 5, they tore up the line, and all railway communication with Tientsin was stopped; the telegraph wires, however, still remaining untouched. A message was therefore despatched by the Ministers to their various Consuls in Tientsin asking for immediate assistance. It reached that city late on the evening of the 10th, and at a meeting of the Consuls it was decided that the help asked for should be sent without delay. This decision was arrived at against the advice of the French and

Russian Consuls, who were both desirous to wait for the arrival of the expected Russian troops (2,000 of whom were in fact embarked on June 11 from Port Arthur); but the other Consuls insisted, and a wire was sent to Taku the same evening, to Sir Edward Seymour, the Admiral in command of the China Squadron, urging him to send up at once as many men as he could possibly spare. Eventually, both the Russians and the French sent a contingent; their original objection to going being a very sound one, that for military reasons a start ought not to be made unless there were at least 1,500 men, or until the line was in working order. But, more than that number being furnished from the ships, they were willing to go with the others; their refusal was not in any way a captious one, or dictated, as has been so often asserted, by motives of political jealousy.

A good deal has been said and written about Muscovite duplicity, and it has even been suggested that the Russians fomented the rising for their own purposes, but all the evidence is quite the other way—that they were taken by surprise just as much as any of the other Powers. When the trouble began they had so few troops at Port Arthur that when the 2,000 men had been sent to Taku there were only 300 or 400 left, barely sufficient to hold the forts, and not nearly enough to protect the railway to Moukden, to which great damage was done.

Nothing, indeed, could have exceeded the extreme caution with which the Russian Minister in Peking

WATCH-TOWER ON WALL OF CHINESE CITY, PEKING.

TUNG-PIEN GATE, PEKING.

acted, or his hesitation in resorting to strong measures which might precipitate a crisis. This is made perfectly clear by Sir Claude Macdonald in his despatch of June 10, 1900:

> The Russian Minister began by explaining an unfortunate incident which had occurred on the 2nd inst. in connection with the flight already mentioned of the European party from Pao-ting-fu. When news had come of their imminent peril he had, at the urgent request of the Belgian Minister, allowed the Tientsin Guard of twenty-five Cossacks to go to meet and rescue them. The Cossacks had halted for the night, had been surrounded by Boxers, and had to cut their way through them and return to Tientsin without meeting the fugitives. An officer of the Cossacks had fallen from his horse and received six lance-thrusts; a Cossack in rescuing his officer had had his nose cut off, and some fourteen Boxers were reported to have been killed. *M. De Giers explained that in acting as he had done he had been guided solely by feelings of humanity, and he begged that it would not be taken as a precedent, above all that it would not be considered as the pretext for armed expeditions into the interior.*

Admiral Seymour landed at once on receipt of the Consul's message, and arrived in Tientsin by an early train on the following morning, June 10, with 500 men—bluejackets and Marines (under the command of Captain Jellicoe, R.N., his flag-captain, and Major Johnston, R.M.L.I.), and as soon as the other contingents joined him a start was made in three trains, the first being composed of trucks filled with sleepers and construction material, to repair the line if necessary; Mr. Currey, a civil engineer in the service of

the Imperial Chinese Railway, going with it to superintend the work.[1]

Two days after, on June 12, the telegraph wires were cut, and from that time the Peking Legations were absolutely isolated from the outside world.

The relief force consisted altogether of 1,945 men, made up as follows: 900 British (500 brought up by Sir E. Seymour and 400 under Commander Granville, drawn from the British sailors garrisoning Tientsin); 200 Germans; 200 Russians; 200 French; 200 Japanese; 120 Americans, under Captain McCalla, of the 'Newark;' 100 Italians and 25 Austrians, the whole being under the command of Sir Edward Seymour. With it also went Mr. Campbell, of the Chinese Consular Service, and Mr. Clive Bigham, as Intelligence officer.

As it was thought they would arrive in Peking in two days at the latest, they only took with them a week's provisions; but they were well armed, having eight machine guns, six small field guns, and one six-pounder, mounted on a truck.

The following brief summary of what took place is taken from the diary of one of the British officers. It is not necessary to give more than the merest outline, as the details have already been graphically related by Mr. Clive Bigham.

For the first day and a half they were unopposed, but they proceeded slowly and cautiously, lest the

[1] Sir E. Seymour particularly mentions the obligation the force were under to Mr. Currey for the excellent work he did.

rails should have been torn up. On Monday, however, late in the afternoon, they were attacked by a large body of Boxers, who, emboldened by their superstitious belief in their invulnerability, charged right up to within fifty yards of the train, although they were only armed with swords and spears, and a few rifles. This belief, it was afterwards discovered, had been enormously strengthened by the action of the Imperial troops under General Nieh, who, unknown to their officers, had extracted the bullets from their cartridges, so that when they were ordered to fire they did so only in blank, although to the Boxers it seemed as though they were firing in earnest.

On Tuesday the chaplain of the 'Centurion,' the Rev. Harrison Smith, was sent back to Tientsin to bring up more stores (the line being kept open by one of the trains patrolling up and down), and he returned to the force again on Thursday morning, by the last train which left Tientsin before it was surrounded.

On Wednesday a courier arrived from Peking with information that the Legations were hard pressed, and that the Imperial troops were making preparations to defend the city against attack.

The force then proceeded as far as Lang-fang, which is only a little more than halfway, and beyond that they found the rails torn up, and the road blocked, and heavy fire was opened upon them by Imperial troops armed with Mausers and quick-firing guns. The fighting was exceedingly trying, for the

Chinese found abundant cover in the villages and behind the walls, and, using smokeless powder, they were generally invisible, so that it was difficult to see exactly from what quarter the firing came. The casualties were considerable, and it was decided at a council of war that it would be sheer madness to try and force their way through to Peking, and that there was no alternative to an immediate retirement to Tientsin; the intention being to secure reinforcements and supplies, and then to relieve the Legations by way of the river instead of by the railway, or to march all the way by road. Indeed, no other course was open to them now that they were opposed, not by the badly armed Boxers, but by the well-equipped Chinese regular troops. On that day, the 18th, they made their way slowly back with the train, fighting almost without intermission night and day; but on the following morning, the 19th, they were obliged to finally abandon the railway and to take to junks on the river, as the bridge over the Peiho had been destroyed behind them. Their progress from that time became slow and wearisome, for the junks had to be dragged along with ropes, and the men on the tow-path were exposed to a heavy fire from the villages they had to pass.

Their food, too, was nearly gone, and they had to eke it out as best they could with any stray ponies or donkeys they were able to capture as they went along; and the water was very bad (the river being

full of dead bodies), and they had no means to boil it.

Fortunately, they did not know that the Taku Forts had been taken since they started, or that the Tientsin settlements were in a state of siege. Had they done so, their position would indeed have seemed to them hopeless.

On the 21st there was hard fighting all day, but, tired out as they were, hungry and hardly bestead, they were obliged, nevertheless, to make a forced march at night, that being their only chance, their position being utterly desperate, owing to want not only of food, but, worse still, of ammunition.

They marched, therefore, all night, and at daybreak the Marines and bluejackets, under Major Johnstone, stormed and took the Hsi-ku Arsenal, losing a number of men in the assault. As was usually the case, the Chinese had their guns trained too high, or the casualties would have been far greater, and so, too, would they have been if the enemy had stuck to their position but a little longer. Most were sustained within a zone of from 1,500 to 1,800 yards. When the advancing line got to within 800 yards the Chinese almost invariably abandoned their guns and fled. The capture of this Arsenal virtually saved the force from almost certain annihilation (there were only a few rounds of ammunition left per man), for in it they found abundance of the three things of which they were most in need—ammunition, food, and medical stores. That day the

Chinese troops made two attempts to retake it, and yet another attempt at sunrise on the following morning (the Chinese, like the Pathans, almost always attack at daybreak), but they were all easily repulsed. Besides stores and ammunition, the Arsenal contained a quantity of guns of the newest pattern, amongst them several 40-pounder Krupps. These were now turned upon the adjoining fort and upon the villages near by, and a heavy cannonade was maintained, which kept the enemy at a distance.

Sixteen tons of rice were also found, so all danger of immediate starvation was over. But, hampered as they were by their wounded, the only thing they could do was to hold on where they were, and try to get intelligence through to the Tientsin settlements, which were only eight miles away. Two companies of Marines, under Captain Doig and Captain Lloyd, with Mr. Currey as guide, were sent out under cover of the darkness to try and cut their way through, but they came in contact with the enemy almost at once, and, after losing a number of men, got back with difficulty to the main body of the force.

Mr. Bigham's Chinese servant, fortunately, the same night succeeded in passing through the enemy's lines, and a mixed force of 1,800 men, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Shirinsky, made its way the next day to Hsi-ku, and the two forces retired together to the Tientsin settlements, with the loss of only a few men. Before they left Hsi-ku they blew up the Arsenal, which is believed from reliable Chinese

sources of information to have contained several million pounds' worth of guns, ammunition, and military stores. It was found afterwards that only a very small portion of these stores was destroyed by the explosion, and when subsequently, during the advance to Peking, the Arsenal was occupied by the Russians, they quietly appropriated all that remained, sending most of it down to Port Arthur, where it will be of great use to them. But the worth of it ought to have been brought into account when the amount of the Russian indemnity was being assessed.

The Allied force had been away altogether sixteen days, during thirteen of which it had been cut off from all outside communication. Two hundred and ninety-five men had been killed and wounded, amongst the killed being Captain Buchholtz of the German Navy and Captain Beyts of the Marine Artillery, whilst Captain Jellicoe was shot through the lungs. (The British loss amounted altogether to 27 killed and 97 wounded; the Americans losing 4 killed and 25 wounded.)

Half starved, with hardly any sleep, and engaged incessantly with an enemy immensely superior to it in numbers (the majority of the people being either Boxers or in sympathy with them), the successful retirement of this little force was a matter of extreme difficulty; the more so that it was made up of no less than eight different nationalities, each unable to understand the others' language, over whom Sir

Edward Seymour was, it is true, in nominal command, but to whom he could give orders only by a stretch of international courtesy. This made his task infinitely harder than it would otherwise have been.

MAP OF PROVINCE OF CHIH-LI, SHOWING DISTRICT IN WHICH THE CAMPAIGN TOOK PLACE.

CHAPTER II

NECESSITY FOR THE SEYMOUR EXPEDITION—EFFECT UPON IT OF CAPTURE OF THE TAKU FORTS—ADMIRAL KEMPFF'S ACTION—INSTRUCTIONS OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT—EFFECT OF TAKING THE FORTS UPON SUBSEQUENT CHINESE ACTION.

On the Continent Admiral Seymour was criticised at the time for having started with an insufficient number of men; but he had no option except to act as he did on hearing from the Consuls that the Legations were in such imminent danger. The telegram for assistance sent from Peking was so urgent in its terms that to have delayed in acting upon it was out of the question. It ran thus: 'Situation extremely grave. Unless arrangements are made for immediate advance to Peking it will be too late.' It was quite uncertain when the troops might arrive at Taku for which the French and Russians proposed to wait, and the difference of a few hours might, it was then thought, mean life or death to all the Europeans in Peking. So there was no alternative but to start with whatever men were available. Nor was it supposed by any one that there would be any serious concerted opposition. Sir Claude Macdonald, on June 12, in one of the latest telegrams that left Peking, merely says: 'Inform

relief party the mutinous Kansu soldiery, who are to-day in possession of the Peking terminus, *may offer them some resistance there.*'

Admiral Seymour has also been criticised abroad for going himself instead of sending one of his officers; but it was imperative that he should be personally present, for the force was made up of bitterly jealous nationalities, and only the presence in command of an officer so superior in rank could have ensured harmonious co-operation. And, as the Blue Book shows, he only assumed command after receiving the telegraphic approval both of the Admiralty and of Lord Salisbury. It has been asserted, too, that it would have been better not to have trusted to the railway—to have marched up all the way by road; and as things turned out this would probably have been the safer course, instead of trying to repair the line as the advance proceeded. It is always so easy to be wise after the event. Time was of urgent importance, and it was thought that by train the force would arrive in Peking in three or four days at the most; no one had any idea that the Chinese would prove themselves capable of so formidable a resistance; their strength was as under-rated then as it was ludicrously over-rated afterwards. In the campaign of 1860 they had shown themselves to be utterly contemptible as soldiers, and the Japanese war had not afforded any ground for belief that they had rendered themselves any more efficient. Moreover, it was thought that the

only opposition would be from the Boxers, and that the Imperial troops would not assist them, inasmuch as up to a day or two previously those troops had themselves been actively engaged under General Nieh in their suppression; as, indeed, they had been for some time past, as far back as May 24, 1900, Sir C. Macdonald wiring thus to the Marquis of Salisbury: 'Her Majesty's Consul at Tientsin reported by telegraph yesterday that a colonel in charge of a party of the Viceroy's cavalry was caught, on the 22nd inst., in an ambuscade near Lai-Shui, which is about fifty miles south-west of Peking. The party were destroyed.'

The Ministers knew how much depended upon the force being able to reach Peking speedily. Had it done so, the Legations would in all likelihood have never been besieged. The presence of so large a body of troops, well equipped with guns, would have so strengthened the hands of the not inconsiderable party amongst the officials who fully understood the folly of the anti-foreign movement, but yet were afraid to openly oppose it, that they might have been able to obtain the upper hand. That, at least, is the opinion of many of the Europeans in China. And though it is, of course, purely a speculation, in spite of the difficulties caused by the destruction of the line, it seems likely that Admiral Seymour would have succeeded in his object had his advance not been made impossible, and, worse still, his means of retreat cut away from behind him, by the capture of the Taku Forts. Up till then he had only had to

meet a rabble of Boxers, fanatically brave, it is true, but badly armed, and utterly untrained and undisciplined. So soon, however, as the Forts were taken, the Boxers were joined by the Chinese troops furnished not only with modern rifles, but with artillery. Captain von Usedom of the German Navy, Sir E. Seymour states in his despatch, 'reported that they had a severe engagement with the enemy, who unexpectedly attacked them at Lang-fang about 2.30 P.M. on that day (the 18th, the Forts being taken on the 16th) in great force, estimated to be fully 5,000 men (including cavalry), large numbers of whom were armed with magazine rifles of the latest pattern. The banners captured show them to have belonged to the army of General Tung-Fu-Hsiang, who commands the Chinese troops in the Hunting Park outside Peking, *and it was thus definitely known for the first time that Imperial Chinese troops were being employed against us.*'

It does not seem to be generally understood in England how fatal the attack on the Forts was to the success of his expedition, though in America no doubt was ever felt about it. President McKinley stated its effect succinctly in his Message to Congress. 'The American Admiral,' are his words, 'taking no part in the attack, on the ground that we were not at war with China, *and that a hostile demonstration might consolidate the anti-foreign elements, and strengthen the Boxers to oppose the relieving column*,' which, in fact, was what it did. It was the practical ultimatum of

the Powers to China which, like President Kruger's Ultimatum, from that moment made hostilities inevitable. Nor should it be forgotten, that it was not until the Allied admirals sent to demand the surrender of the Forts, that the Chinese Government took any hostile step. Mr. Sugi, the special correspondent of the 'Jiji Shimpo' in Peking, stated in a letter to his paper dated July 22, 1900 (one of the few letters which found their way through the enemy's lines), the circumstances attending the commencement of hostilities in Peking, which fully sustains the Chinese contention:—

> On June 19 the Chinese Government, having been informed that the Allied commanders had demanded the surrender of the Taku Forts, and declared their intention of taking the forts by Force if the surrender was refused, *concluded that this amounted to a declaration of war by the foreign Powers*, and therefore addressed to the foreign representatives a demand that they should leave Peking within twenty-four hours. The representatives asked for a delay of forty-eight hours, and proposed to have an interview with the Tsung-li-Yamên on the 20th. The German Minister proceeded first to the interview, and was killed *en route*; whereupon the other Ministers abandoned their intention of going to the Yamên, and decided to remain in Peking, which decision was communicated to the Tsung-li-Yamên at once. The latter replied that it would be better for the Ministers to remain. Nevertheless, at 4 o'clock on the afternoon of that day the Chinese troops opened fire on the Legations, and fighting commenced.

Nor should it be overlooked that, in spite of strong provocation, the Chinese in the Taku Forts remained

passive whilst troops and guns were being sent up from the allied fleets to Tientsin. They even allowed the cruisers by which the bombardment was effected to anchor unmolested in the river, and the storming party to be sent on board from the different warships lying outside the bar. Still more significant is the fact that the general in command of the neighbouring Pei-tang Forts intimated that, so long as he was left alone, so long would he take no action, but that if he were attacked he would be obliged to defend himself. So it is quite possible that the commander of the Taku Forts might have pursued a similar course had his hand not been forced by the demand of surrender. The compact thus tacitly entered into with regard to the Pei-tang Forts was maintained until September 19, long after the fall of Peking, when they were taken with a loss of eighty men, caused by the explosion of several of the mines which the Chinese are so expert in constructing. These Forts, which are situated at the mouth of the Lutai River, the place where the allied French and English landed in 1860, were exceedingly strong, and might have done much damage, a portion of the railway near Tong-ku being just within range of their largest guns. They contained when taken one 10-inch gun, two mortars, four 6-inch, seven 5-inch, six 3-inch, and six 2-inch guns, and could have caused great annoyance to the troops on their way from Tong-ku to Tientsin.

From every point of view it would appear now to

have been wiser to have delayed the seizure of the Forts until at least Admiral Seymour had either got safely through to Peking or had made good his retreat to Tientsin.

And as there has been much heated discussion with regard to Admiral Kempff's action, it may be as well to set out here his report to the United States Naval Department. It is dated July 17, 1900 :—

1. I would state what follows in regard to the happenings previous to the resolve yesterday by the senior naval officers here to get possession of the Taku Forts.

2. On Thursday, June 14, Rear-Admiral Bruce called and asked what I thought of the matter, and I informed him that I was not authorised to initiate any act of war with a country with which my country was at peace; that my limit was to protect American interests both by regulations and under recent instructions from both the Department and from the Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. naval force on the Pacific Station.

3. On the 15th, at a consultation of the other foreign naval officers, it was agreed that the railroad station at Tong-ku should be taken; the railway is under Chinese Government control, and in case any Chinese Government force acted against the force of any nation all should be involved and act unitedly. Acting under my instructions I could not join in taking possession of Chinese Government property, and did not care to become a party to such an agreement without definite authority.

4. Yesterday, June 16, the same foreign naval officers signed a compact that it was necessary to take temporary possession of the Taku Forts, and notice was served on the Viceroy of Tientsin, and on the Commandant of the Forts. Consuls at Tientsin were informed of what was contemplated. I did not join in the attack on the Forts. Captain

Wise of the 'Monocacy' had orders to protect American interests, based upon the Department orders, but in case of attack by the Chinese Government force he was to consider it as a declaration of war and act accordingly.

The effect produced by the attack was precisely what might have been anticipated. It is said that one of the most influential of the Chinese officials, a man greatly trusted by the Imperial Court, had actually prepared a petition to the Emperor entreating him to suppress the Boxers and to protect foreigners, but when the news came of the capture of the Forts he tore it up, with the words that the Powers had made war upon China, and that there was nothing for it but to resist to the end. As the Chinese say, it is too late to pull the rein when the horse has gained the brink of the precipice. Every patriotic Chinaman felt the same. And that this would be the result of the measure was perfectly understood by those responsible for it. What they did not understand was the increased military strength of the Chinese; and they therefore disregarded it. A few days before the attack was decided upon the question was being discussed in Tientsin, and one of the Consuls remarked: 'If you take the Forts you will be signing the death-warrant of every foreigner in the interior.' Words sadly true, alas! for the terrible massacres in the inland provinces all took place after June 17, the date on which the Forts were occupied, with the one exception of the murder of Mr. Norman and Mr. Robinson, who were killed at Pao-ting-fu on

June 1. The Shansi missionaries who escaped to Shanghai state that all went well until then. One of them, writing to the 'North China Daily News,' says:—

All was quiet in Ping-yao up to June 25. The magistrate was friendly, and had issued a proclamation denouncing the Boxers and promising protection to foreigners and Christians. On that day, however, we received a letter from Tai-Yuan enclosing a copy of a proclamation which had just been issued by Yu Hsien, the Governor, in which the people were informed that China was at war with the foreigners, and that all foreign devils must be destroyed. On the back of that we learned that our magistrate was having his favourable proclamation taken down from the walls, and that a mob had already begun to demolish our chapel in the city. Later on in the evening a mob arrived at our house in the suburbs, and we were driven to take refuge in the Yamên. The magistrate declared that he could not help us. He had received orders no longer to protect foreigners, and bade us depart in peace.

And the missionaries, who came down from Manchuria, declared that they were perfectly safe there until the news came of the capture of the Forts, when they had to fly for their lives, only getting away to Newchwang just in time to save themselves.

The reasons assigned by the admirals were, that the Chinese army was believed to be about to march on Tientsin, and that the Chinese had already ravaged Tong-ku, and were reinforcing the forts at Taku, besides mining the mouth of the Peiho. Yet, viewed in the light of subsequent events, the action of Admiral Kempff in refusing to take part in it would seem to have been dictated by a sounder judgment. I asked an American officer what was thought about

the matter in America, and his answer was: 'At first there was considerable feeling against him for standing out of an elegant fight when one was on hand, and Admiral Remey was sent up from the Philippines to replace him; but now it is recognised not only that he was in the right, but that he showed great moral courage in acting as he did;' and that is not unlikely to be the verdict of history. When, too, we have obtained a more accurate knowledge of the difficult circumstances in which the Chinese Court, and more particularly the Emperor, Kwang-Su, were placed, it is not unlikely that it may come to be felt that the precipitate action of the Allied admirals was the main factor in bringing to a head the terrible outbreak which has swept like a desolating wave over the whole of Northern China. It is not the view commonly entertained by the Europeans in the Treaty Ports, but it is one held by a good many men whose opinions are entitled to respect, and there is undoubtedly much that may be urged in its support. One circumstance there is which lends additional weight to their argument: on the night of June 16, when the Boxers attacked the railway station at Tientsin, the regular troops held themselves rigidly aloof, but on the afternoon of the 17th (the Forts having been taken that morning) the Chinese guns opened fire from the fort in the city Yamên, and from that time onwards the troops and Boxers worked in conjunction. Nor can the account given by the Chinese Government be altogether ignored; there is

a good deal in it that merits careful examination. It is to be found in the Imperial Decree dated June 29, 1900, giving instructions to the Chinese Ministers at foreign Courts :—

At this crisis we were suddenly surprised to hear that General Lo-Yung-Kuang, commanding our Forts at Taku, had been personally addressed on June 16 by the foreign officers in that vicinity, who demanded the handing over of the said Forts to the foreign fleets, which if not done by two o'clock the next day would be forcibly taken possession of. Naturally Lo-Yung-Kuang refused to do this. At the expiration of the time the foreign fleets indeed began to open firs at our Forts, and a battle ensued for the whole day, until at last our troops, unable to do more, abandoned the Forts to the Foreign troops. A war had thus been commenced which was not of our beginning or choosing. For you will perceive that even if China should, regardless of her own power and strength, rush into war, was it likely or reasonable that she would of her own accord elect to fight all the Powers at once? Was it probable that, granting such recklessness, she would have relied on a rebel populace to commence a war against all the Powers? We sincerely trust that the Governments of the various Powers, when approached by your Excellencies, will take the above under their serious consideration, and make allowances therefor, and that the said Governments be informed of the serious dilemma in which this Government has been placed, and that we were surrounded by forces utterly beyond our control.

Like all Orientals, the Chinese have here tried to make a good case better by misstating the essential fact, that it was not the allied fleets, but the Forts, which first opened fire. They have thereby somewhat damaged their case ; but it is a strong one nevertheless, for the Forts only opened fire after they had been given a definite intimation that if not delivered up by

a certain time they would be taken by force. Sir Claude Macdonald, it should be noted, in his despatch of September 20, 1900, says:—

> We had up to this moment no information whatever that Tientsin was in any danger, still less that the line to Taku was menaced, and we therefore failed to understand the urgency of the naval authorities' action, and were inclined to construe it as premature, if not needlessly provocative. With the reasons which made the action taken imperative, your Lordship is already fully acquainted, but to us the Yamên's communication came as a complete surprise.

This is strongly confirmatory of the explanation put forward by the Chinese Government.

It may, of course, be said on the other side, that it was doubtful for how long the regular troops would have resisted the temptation to join the Boxers, and that had they done so, and had the Forts not been taken when they were, they would undoubtedly have been strongly reinforced, the river communication intercepted, and all access to Tientsin severed. In that case not only would Admiral Seymour's column have been destroyed, but Tientsin must have fallen, and its destruction would have entailed that of the Legations in Peking, and might even have endangered Shanghai. It was a difficult question to decide, and the admirals acted as they deemed at the time, in their discretion, for the best, and they *may* have acted wisely. Still the difficulties ought to be recognised in which by their action the Chinese Government was placed, and some allowance made for the resulting consequences.

CHAPTER III

Capture of the Taku Forts—Siege of Tientsin—Gallant Conduct of Mr. Watts and Mr. Seeberg—Tong-shan Refugees—Narrow Escape of Mr. Hughes—Predicament of Chinese Mine Manager.

The Taku Forts were taken on the night of June 15, the action being begun by the Chinese, who opened fire a little after midnight, their first shot going through the rigging of the 'Algerine.' The details of the action were given so fully at the time by various correspondents that it is superfluous now to do more than state shortly what occurred. The bar at the mouth of the Peiho River is shallow, and only vessels of small draught can cross it. The larger ships of war of the allied fleets, twenty-eight in number, had therefore to lie outside it some ten miles away from the Forts at Taku, at the entrance of the river, and could take no part in the fighting. In the river, inside the bar, were only the following vessels: British—H.M.S. 'Algerine' and two torpedo destroyers, the 'Fame' and the 'Whiting;' German—the 'Iltis;' French—the 'Lion;' Russian—the 'Bobr,' the 'Koreetch,' and the 'Gilyak.' In all, six gunboats and two torpedo destroyers.

The forts these vessels had opposed to them were

exceedingly strong: the Northern forts having about eighty guns, all told, of various sizes, and the Southern forts no less than a hundred and twenty guns, some of them being 10-½m. Krupps of the very latest pattern.

The action lasted from a little before 1 A.M. until six in the morning, when the big magazine in the South Fort was blown up, and the fire from both the Northern and the Southern forts somewhat slackened. Up to that time it had been heavy, but badly directed.

The storming parties—the British being under the command of Commander Cradock, R.N., of the 'Alacrity,' with Lieutenant Kemp of the 'Aurora' as second in command—which had been landed in the darkness an hour or two before, and had quietly taken up their positions, then raced together to the assault, and in half an hour the whole of the Forts were in the hands of the Allies. The storming parties were made up as follows: 350 British, 230 Japanese, 150 Russians, 130 Germans, 50 Austrians, and 25 Italians.

The Japanese had no gunboat in the river, but sent a number of men to take part in the assault, and they, with the British, were the first into the North Fort, the first fort taken, with a loss of 26 men killed and wounded; their leader, Commander Hattori, being amongst those killed.

The Chinese lost, it was computed, about a third of their number, the strength of their garrison being a little over three thousand. The Allied casualties were also heavy, though nothing like in the same proportion, the Russians having 16

men killed and 3 officers and 52 men wounded, the Germans 6 men killed and 15 wounded (Commander Lans of the 'Iltis' being badly injured); whilst the French had only 1 officer killed and 1 man wounded, and the British 3 men killed and 1 officer wounded.

The 'Algerine' escaped with small loss, although she was right between the Forts, partly because Commander Stewart put her so close under the guns that most of their shot passed over her, and partly because she had shifted her moorings slightly just after nightfall, and the Chinese guns, which had been trained on her in her old position, were aimed in consequence too high and passed mostly through her rigging. This, however, was to some extent the case with all the ships; indeed, but for it they must have been blown to pieces, the fight being at such close range and against guns of such large calibre. A little higher up the river four Chinese torpedo boats were taken possession of by the 'Fame' and the 'Whiting' without resistance.

The 'Monocacy,' which in accordance with Admiral Kempff's orders took no part in the fight, had on board a number of women and children, refugees from Tientsin, who had come down late that night by the last train that left the Tientsin settlements. She was lying at Tong-ku, three miles higher up the river than Taku, but many of the shells came uncomfortably close, the bend of the river bringing Tong-ku into the direct line of the fire from some of

the Chinese guns. One shot passed through her bows, but without injuring any one.

With the occupation of the Forts the immediate danger to the Tientsin settlements was heightened, not decreased. The same night the Boxers made a determined effort to break through the barricades. They set fire to the buildings in fourteen places, burnt down the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Tientsin City, and the greater part of the French settlement, and very nearly succeeded in capturing the railway station, which was held by a Russian guard; and the next day the regular troops joined them and opened fire with their heavy artillery.

It was a fortunate circumstance that the seventeen hundred Russians who had come from Port Arthur had not arrived in time to take part in the Seymour expedition, for had they been with it nothing could have saved Tientsin from a general massacre, and the Admiral's force and the Legations in Peking must have shared the same fate. As it was, the settlements were only saved with difficulty by these Russian troops, and by the handful of British sailors who had been left there under the command of Captain Bayly of the 'Aurora,' aided gallantly by the Tientsin Volunteers. When the Chinese opened fire from the fort in the city Yamên, a mixed force of 175 Austrians, British, Germans, and Italians, attacked the Military College on the other side of the river, from which a damaging flanking fire was being kept up. The Chinese students stood bravely to their

FORT AT TAKU, IN BRITISH OCCUPATION.

STREET BARRICADE, TIENTSIN.

posts and were nearly all killed at their guns, and the guns and the College itself were taken and destroyed, together with a large amount of ammunition. The Russians were engaged during this time in defending other portions of the settlements, and their large force, and their four heavy field-pieces, virtually saved the situation.

The imminence of the peril, and the horrible cruelties committed by the Boxers in Tientsin City (the river being full of the bodies of Chinese sympathisers with the foreigners, who had been killed by the Boxers and thrown into it), explain, if they do not excuse, the barbarous conduct of which the European troops were also guilty. It is easy to criticise from a comfortable distance, but the most humane and civilised of people are apt to lose self-control in such appalling circumstances. There is this also to be said, that the whole population seemed to be up against the foreigners, and when the apparently harmless villager might the next moment become an enemy it was a hard matter for troops not to treat him as such. And when the terrible forces of hatred, suspicion, and revenge are set in motion, with utter disorganisation on every side, and no adequate means to hold them in check, can it be any matter for wonderment that some dreadful things were done? Still, the picture was not altogether so black as it has been sometimes painted; not a few kindly deeds relieved its horror. When, for instance, the storming party took the Forts, most of the Chinese

neither asked for nor received quarter; yet one Chinese officer threw down his sword and surrendered to an English midshipman, and the boy, in the midst of all the fury of the hand-to-hand conflict, succeeded in bringing him out alive and unhurt. Again, one of the sergeants in the Wei-hai-Wei Regiment, who was in charge of the Maxim on board the steam-launch going up the river to Tientsin (I happened to be on board when this occurred), declined to fire on a number of Chinese whom he saw some way back from the bank of the river, because he thought they might only be villagers—and this at a time when the Boxers were constantly firing all the way up, and when the boats had to be protected with armoured coverings.

For some days after the capture of the Forts no news whatever came to Tong-ku from Tientsin; and there were no means to communicate with the settlements, the whole of the intervening country being in a state of ferment. Then Mr. James Watts, a young Englishman living in Tientsin, with two Cossacks as an escort, rode through the Chinese lines by night, a distance of thirty miles, and brought down word of the desperate straits to which the Europeans were reduced; whereupon a relief column of mixed nationalities fought its way up, proceeding partly by rail and partly by road, for the line in places had been destroyed, and the train ran off the track almost directly after they started. Although little has been said about it, this march was, in reality, a more trying and hazardous affair than the taking of

the Forts, the heat being great and food and water hard to get. Mr. Watts's ride was a really heroic performance: he seemed to be going to an almost certain death. And it was the more gallant from his being unable to understand the Cossacks, or the Cossacks to understand him. Mr. Carles' mention of it to Lord Salisbury only voiced the gratitude of all Tientsin. 'His intimate knowledge of the country made the feat possible, but the bravery of his act was not diminished through its not being foolhardy.' Another brave deed was done at the same time, which has hardly attracted attention. On the morning of June 18 Mr. Seeberg, one of the Taku pilots, was asked if he would take a steam-launch down to Tong-ku with despatches. He agreed, and started late that night. With him were a French officer, six British sailors, a Mr. Stavers, and a Mr. Tarris. They got down about twenty miles, and then, in the darkness, the launch stuck fast on a boom built across the river by the Boxers. When the day began to dawn they could see that the banks were swarming with Boxers; but happily they had not been perceived. So they swam ashore and hid in the long grass, and then made their way slowly to a railway station called Chin-lian-Chang, not far from Tong-ku, where they found 250 French and Russian soldiers. They reached there late that night, and on the following morning (the 20th) Mr. Seeberg rode on to Tong-ku with an escort of ten Cossacks, and safely delivered his despatches.

If Tientsin was in such danger, it may be imagined how perilous was the position of the Europeans in outlying mission stations, and in places such as Pei-ta-ho and Tong-shan.

Pei-ta-ho is the little watering-place below Shan-hai-Kwan, on the Gulf of Liao-tung, to which many of the Peking and Tientsin people go during the heat of the summer. It is close to an important place called Chin-wan-tao, which the Chinese are trying to make into an ice-free port (at present there is none in the Gulf of Liao-tung), the construction of the work having been entrusted by them to an English engineer, and to a firm of English contractors.

When the Boxer excitement began to grow in intensity, the British Consul wrote to Major Parsons, of the Burmese Staff Corps, who, with several other Indian officers, was in China, studying the language (they were all then in Pei-ta-ho), warning him of the approaching danger. Major Parsons, in reply, asked if a gunboat could be sent for their protection; and on June 6 Admiral Seymour ordered H.M.S. 'Humber' to proceed thither. At that time, although the people were greatly excited, the authorities were still doing all they could to keep them in order. General Sung and General Ma were at Shan-hai-Kwan, fifteen miles distant, with 12,000 men, and General Sung sent a guard over to Pei-ta-ho, to assist the Europeans in case of any sudden commotion. On June 15 this guard was withdrawn, as all the troops at Shan-hai-Kwan had been summoned to Peking.

On the 16th, Mr. Kinder, C.M.G., the engineer-in-chief of the Chinese Imperial Railway, with a party of his employés, and an escort of fifty men from H.M.S. 'Aurora,' under the command of Lieutenant Roper, R.N., who had been sent to join him a week or two before (at the time when the International Guards went up to the Legations in Peking), came down from Tong-shan, where the coal mines are, some little distance off. On the same day sixteen women and thirty-eight children were taken down by the 'Humber' to Taku; and on the 21st she returned again, with orders to take away all the remaining Europeans, which she accordingly did.

Mr. Hughes, the engineer engaged in the construction of the Chin-wan-tao dock, had a narrow escape. He did not go to Pei-ta-ho with the others, but proceeded alone to Tong-ku by the last train that left Shan-hai-Kwan, arriving at night, just as the bombardment of the Taku Forts was beginning; the train being full of Chinese soldiers, and run entirely by Chinese drivers and Chinese guards. The people scowled angrily at him, and he had to pull down the blinds of his carriage, and to keep as much out of sight as he could at the various stations, but he was not interfered with or molested in any way. Indeed, it is evident now that a great mistake was made in Tientsin in supposing that the whole of the Chinese were in arms against the foreigners, or were even actively in sympathy with the Boxers. It was by no means so. The great

majority, no doubt, were, but there was always a large leaven of men of progressive ideas, who were utterly opposed to the movement; only people at the time were, naturally enough, so incensed and alarmed that they could not reason things out calmly.

The following interesting letter, sent from the Chinese manager on the Tong-shan coal mine to one of his official superiors, an Englishman, in Tientsin, which I have been kindly permitted to use, demonstrates this more clearly than any unsupported assertions could do :—

Tong-Shan : August 29, 1900.

We have a big stock of lump, but it is impossible to send coal to Tong-ku at present, as no boats can be procured, and the soldiers at Lutai and Peh-tang will surely stop their movement. Sending coal to you *viâ* Chin-Wan-Tao is out of the question, as the wharf there has been destroyed, and it is twelve li from there to the nearest railway station. The line from Tong-Fong to Kin-Chow is still in workable condition. A train runs from here to Shan-hai-Kwan, and thence to Kin-Chow, daily. The Tartar general of Feng-Tien has appointed Kwong-King-Wang and Yiu-Tien-Yiu temporary chief engineers of the line, and a prefect as temporary manager. Our co-director Yang has been acting manager of the line at this end. Everything here and at Len-si is in working order, except the water in the pits at Tong-Shan is not drained, owing to the late heavy rains and occasional breaking down of the minor pumps. The water in No. 6 level is still about forty feet deep. One month ago it was less than twenty feet. As there is not much demand for coal, and the transport is so difficult, we have kept down the output to two hundred tons per day. We have stopped working the north-west shaft, which formerly turned out three hundred

tons each day. As we are short of funds we are paying all our employés since the fifth moon 40 per cent. of their salaries and wages, and the contractors received only 50 per cent. of what is owing them. Little work, such as repairing pumps, &c., is still going on in the shops; only half of the mechanics attend work each day. At night we have two volunteer forces, composed of fitters and underground deputies, to watch the works. We have nearly two hundred volunteers to protect our works all around, armed with Mausers. At the old and new railway works they have got seventy workmen, all armed with Mausers, to protect their work. I believe with these forces we are able to keep off any Boxers or gangs of robbers that should attempt to destroy or loot the works. I do not think it is necessary to send any foreign troops at present, as it will only be an excuse to the outlaws and natives to destroy our works should they hear of foreign troops coming here. Since Peking has been taken I have no doubt peace will be restored soon. I do not see the necessity of the foreign armies taking Peh-tang and Lutai. Are you sure they are going to take these two places? If they are, it will be sure to create disturbances here, and many employés will leave the place.

It is an important letter, for it shows incidentally that the Chinese are not the mere unthinking tools they are so often deemed to be—useless except under European guidance; that they have it in them to utilise the knowledge they have acquired, and to organise and act on their own initiative; that they are proceeding, however slowly, upon the same road which the Japanese have traversed with such startling rapidity. For this is only one instance amongst many that might be given pointing to the gradual transformation that is taking place all over China.

As a matter of fact, no troops were sent to Tong-shan until the end of September; and then they arrived in a manner which might, for the Chinese manager, have had a tragic ending. When it was finally decided that the Peh-tang Forts should be taken, and that the Russians should be given control of the railway from Tong-ku to Shan-hai-Kwan, instructions were sent to him from the company's office in Tientsin to send off without delay a train to bring the Russians up. He did so, and wired to that effect to the Russian officer. Unfortunately, the wire never reached its destination, or was not understood, and the train that was sent collided with the train in which the Russians had already started, and several men were killed. The officer was exceedingly incensed, thinking it had been done on purpose, and promptly put the manager under arrest, and told him he would be dealt with by martial law on the following morning; which was another way of saying that he would be shot. The manager spoke English fluently (having been educated in America), which the Russian officer could not understand, but could not speak French, which the officer did understand; so his days seemed numbered, when, by good chance, the French priest, who had remained in Tong-shan all through the troubles, arrived on the scene and explained matters. The officer, as soon as the real state of affairs was made clear to him, sent for the luckless Chinaman, whom he promptly released, thankful enough, for death had seemed very near to him.

CHAPTER IV

Siege of Tientsin Settlements

But to return to the story of the rising.

On the night of Friday, June 15, the Boxers set fire in several places to the native city of Tientsin, and made a determined attack on the railway station. They were beaten off, and the line repaired, and late during the same night, about 2 A.M., a train was despatched to Tong-ku filled with women and children, as there was no foretelling what might happen next. Unfortunately there was no possibility of getting away more than a very small number; so the rest were ordered to take shelter in the Gordon Hall, the large municipal building in the British settlement—in all 120 women and 138 children. The next night the Boxers renewed the attack on the railway station, and on the following day (the 17th) they were joined by the Chinese troops, and from that time all communication with Taku was cut off. There is little doubt that, had it not been for the presence there of the large number of Russian soldiers under Colonel Anisimoff and Lieut.-Colonel Shirinsky, nothing could then have saved the settlements. But they

were splendidly backed up by Captain Bayly of the 'Aurora' and his handful of bluejackets; the danger being so great that for the time all national animosities were set aside.

In Tientsin, too, happened to be Colonel Wogack, of the Russian Imperial Guard, who had been some years in China as Military Secretary to the Russian Legation. The knowledge he had thus acquired of the Chinese character proved in this emergency to be invaluable. He, as the senior officer present, assumed command of the Russian troops, and both he and his aide-de-camp, Captain Natchvaladoff, were quite untiring in their exertions. So also was Captain Bayly; no words can convey the deep sense of gratitude expressed in Tientsin, after it was relieved, to him as well as to Colonel Wogack. A greater contrast than the two men presented it would be difficult to find: Colonel Wogack, tall, silent, and reserved, but inspiring all the more confidence from his very taciturnity; Captain Bayly, a bluff sailor, with a jest and a ringing laugh at the most anxious of moments, and a determination and vigour which carried his men irresistibly along with him.

On June 17 the Military College was taken and partially destroyed, but on the 19th the Chinese opened fire with two field-guns which they had placed near the railway embankment opposite the British concession. Commander Beatty of the 'Barfleur,' with three companies of sailors, was sent across the river to try and silence them. When

RUINS OF FRENCH SETTLEMENT, TIENTSIN.

RAILWAY ADMINISTRATION BUILDING, TIENTSIN, SHOWING EFFECT OF SHELL FIRE.

he got there the fire from the Chinese sheltered behind the mud walls which intersected the ground in every direction proved too heavy to be opposed with any chance of success, and the attempt had to be abandoned; Commander Beatty himself being wounded, as were also Lieutenant Powell of the 'Aurora,' Lieutenant Stirling of the 'Barfleur,' and Mr. Donaldson, one of the 'Barfleur's' midshipmen; the-last named dying of his wounds on July 3.

A 9-pounder gun was then brought up to the river front, under the command of Lieutenant Wright of the 'Orlando,' which shelled the Chinese guns incessantly until they were withdrawn. Lieutenant Wright before that happened was badly injured in the head by a bursting shell, and he has since died from the injuries he then received.

Even after the Military College had been destroyed, and a number of Chinese houses on the other side of the river had been burnt, there was still sufficient cover to enable the enemy to keep up a continuous peppering, which became very dangerous as well as irksome, as the streets are either parallel to the river, or run at right angles to it; they were therefore swept by bullets both from the city and from the other side of the river. Barricades were placed at the exposed corners, composed of sacks of wool and of rice, and were guarded night and day by sentries, but they were of course of little use against the intermittent sniping. The wool became damaged by the wet, and was much deteriorated in

value, and the rice fermented from the same cause, and gave out a most sickening and unwholesome smell, and had eventually to be thrown into the river; the loss to the merchants from both causes being very great.

Most of the Chinese guns were placed inside the Yamên Fort, in which when it was taken forty-five guns were found, among them a 4·7 Krupp, which did considerable damage. There was also a battery of seven guns on the Lutai Canal, two miles from the railway station, and a couple of guns a thousand yards from it, and another couple behind the ruins of the Military College. Besides these there were various sandbag batteries along the bank of the Peiho, between the French settlement and the native city, and guns also on the city wall, and in the Hai-Kwan-Su Arsenal; and there was a particularly annoying little gun, mounted on a disappearing carriage, which made it difficult to locate, somewhere on the western corner of the city. As one of the Chinese servants said, there was altogether 'too muchee bang' to be pleasant. The settlements were in fact exposed to a constant cross-fire from at least seven different angles, and if the Chinese had only known a little more of the science of war they must soon have ceased to exist; for had the Chinese poured in shot and shell unceasingly, night and day, from all their batteries, and expended without intermission the same quantity of ammunition that they actually fired during the period of the bombardment,

they would assuredly have set the whole place in a blaze.

They are the same strange odd people now that they were in 1860, when they complained that the Allied forces began operations so early that they could not get any sleep. So now they lost their chance by stopping fire at midday for a couple of hours for dinner, and again at night, almost invariably, from 10 to 4, although the sniping went on just the same.

The main difficulty of the garrison consisted in their want of artillery; and here again occurred an instance of the curious apathy displayed by the Chinese. A German pinnace, in which there was a Maxim gun, was disabled by a shot that went through her boiler. She floated over to the opposite bank, and stuck fast close to the Military College. The Chinese left her there untouched, and the 'Barfleur' steam pinnace, with a crew of six men, went across to try and tow her back, being forced to give up the attempt after three of their men had been wounded. Afterwards two volunteers from the 'Orlando' swam across at night, and brought the gun over in a sampan, a shallow Chinese boat. It was given to the Tientsin Volunteers, and when mounted on the Bund near the Astor Hotel, proved to be of great service in keeping down the fire from behind the Military College.

Owing to the large area to be defended, one of the most noticeable features all through these opera-

tions was the responsibility thrown upon quite young naval officers, even midshipmen being placed in charge of guns and in other equally onerous posts. One of them, as I have said, was left in charge of the naval stores at Rail-head, with a mixed company of British and Italian seamen. And Admiral Seymour particularly mentions the gallant conduct of another, Mr. George Gipps, of the 'Orlando,' who, he says, 'was almost continuously in charge of a gun at an outlying and dangerous portion of the defences, and displayed at all times great coolness and ability.'

Owing to the rapidity with which the Boxer movement developed, the men had to be sent up from their ships in a hurry, and had with them very insufficient kit. They suffered much discomfort in consequence, but they were the same cheery, light-hearted grumblers that they always are.

No one who saw the Navy at work in Tientsin can feel any doubt about their efficiency. Whether bluejackets or Marines, they were all equally good. They fought splendidly, and their discipline was remarkable. There was not a single case of court-martial amongst them during the whole time, although the temptations to break loose, to which they were exposed, were great.

The Chinese had altogether more than sixty guns of various sizes, many of them large-calibre Krupps of the newest and best manufacture; and until help came from Taku the besieged had no guns to speak of with which to reply, all they had being seven

12-pounder Russian guns of an obsolete pattern and a new 15-pounder Maxim-Nordenfeldt, which had just arrived and had not yet been delivered to the Chinese Government, for whom it had been purchased, and which was not of much use, as there were with it only a very few rounds of ammunition. On several occasions the danger was extreme that the outposts would be overpowered, and that the immense crowds of Boxers, who were swarming all around, would effect an entrance, and that a general massacre would ensue. The joy of the Tientsin people was therefore great, when, on June 24, a force of some two thousand British, Americans, and Russians, made its way up from Taku through the Chinese investing lines, bringing with it two Russian batteries, each of six 15-pounder Krupps, and a gun from one of the French ships.

The Russians were under General Stössel, and the Americans under Major Waller, whilst the British contingent was composed of a Naval Brigade under Commander Cradock and Lieutenant Kemp (the Marines being under Captain Mullins, R.M.L.I.), four hundred of the Welsh Fusiliers under Major Morris, and a portion of the lately raised Chinese Regiment from Wei-hai-Wei, under Lieutenant-Colonel Bower; the last-named coming up a day or two after the others, and dragging with them a 12-pounder gun from the 'Terrible,' a most onerous undertaking, no less than 100 men being required to draw it. The allied force reached the Tientsin settlements about two o'clock, and Commander Cradock then rode back

alone to the halfway camp. He was anxious about its safety, as he had been obliged to leave it under the command of one of the 'Terrible's' midshipmen, with only a handful of British and Italian bluejackets. The country was alive with hostile Chinese, and his horse was shot under him, but he managed to reach the camp unhurt. He stayed there that night to give directions for its defence, and rode in again on the following morning to Tientsin, which he reached just in time to take command the same evening of the British portion of the force sent out to relieve Admiral Seymour. It was a remarkable feat of physical endurance, the heat at the time being intense.

The day after the arrival of the relief force, a contingent, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Shirinsky, sallied forth to the assistance of Admiral Seymour's column, which was hemmed in by the Chinese in the Hsi-ku Arsenal, some three miles to the north of the native city; and on the 26th the two forces returned together to the Tientsin settlements, the Chinese allowing them to return almost unmolested.

During this expedition to Hsi-ku an incident occurred which exemplifies the unswerving obedience to orders so characteristic of the Russian soldier. It was related to me by an Englishman who witnessed it. He, with some others, was retiring hurriedly before the Chinese, when they came upon a Russian sentry, to whom they made known by signs that the enemy was almost upon them. He refused, however, to

leave his post, and was killed where he stood. The Russians are slow in their movements, and like to take their time; but they are excellent soldiers all the same, full of a dogged endurance and of a stoical composure, almost Asiatic in character, which is quite as valuable in its own way as the more dashing attributes of courage, although they are not lacking in that either.

On the same day Brigadier-General Dorward and the Hong-Kong Artillery, under Major St. John, arrived from Taku, and early on the following morning (June 27) the Russians, who were encamped on the opposite side of the river from the foreign settlements, attacked the Peiyang Arsenal, which is on the same side, and about a mile and a half back from the river bank. It was defended by several thousand Chinese, with six guns—9-pounder Krupps. The attack had to be made across an open plain, and a heavy loss resulted, both from the rifle-fire, which was incessant, and from several well-placed shells, the total casualties amounting to rather more than two hundred. Finding themselves hard pressed, they sent in word to Tientsin for reinforcements, and about 10 A.M. the whole Naval Brigade, under Captain Bourke of the 'Orlando,' including a battalion of Marines under Major Johnston, R.M.L.I., was sent out to them with the 12-pounder gun from the 'Terrible,' which was splendidly worked, both then and during all the subsequent operations, by Mr. Wright, who was in charge of it. The American

Marine Artillery also went out under Major Waller. They found the Russians lying down behind the railway embankment, shelling the Arsenal preparatory to an assault. The day was a lovely one, clear and bright, with hardly any wind; but there was an extraordinary mirage, which made it difficult to judge distances correctly, or to distinguish between friends and enemies. The Marines might, at one time, have done great execution amongst a number of Chinese, but they were afraid to fire, as they could not make out until it was too late whether they were Chinese or Russians. About eleven o'clock a Russian shell landed in the big magazine, in which were eighty tons of powder, and it blew up with a terrific explosion, forming a huge balloon of fleecy smoke, which hung suspended for several minutes in mid-air and then slowly dissolved. It was an exquisitely beautiful sight. The report was so tremendous that it was heard quite distinctly at Taku, thirty miles away. Not long afterwards the British gun succeeded in striking the smaller magazine, which also blew up, and the Chinese were then seen to be retreating; so the British and Americans advanced at the double, and occupied the Arsenal without much resistance, though there were a good many casualties as the men charged across the open plain. Before evacuating it the Chinese set light to strings of crackers which they had carefully prepared beforehand; they sounded like heavy musketry fire, and had the desired effect of delaying the advance for the few minutes

required to enable the troops to get safely away, and with comparatively little loss. It was a clever stratagem. Our men ought to have lost more than they did, but, as usual, the Chinese fired too high, and there were more casualties at a distance than when they closed in.

This was found to be invariably the case, and that it was safer to charge at once than to keep the men lying down and firing from long range.

Whilst the British were waiting for the advance a shell fell amongst them, and wounded two marines, who had to be left where they were, to be picked up by the ambulance when it arrived, the men having been sent out in such a hurry that no ambulance had gone with them. After the Arsenal was occupied, however, a large mixed force of Chinese regulars and Boxers, carrying an enormous yellow banner, came out from Tientsin City, at the back of the railway station, and wedged themselves right in between the Arsenal and the river, seizing the very ground which the British and Americans had just vacated. The wounded men saw them coming, and one, who was not so badly injured as the other, whose shoulder was dreadfully shattered and who was almost unconscious, managed to drag his comrade along with difficulty for nearly a couple of hundred yards. But he himself was badly hit, a piece of the shell having torn away the whole of the calf of one leg, and then having lodged in the other leg just above the knee. He was weak with pain and loss of blood, so he was

obliged to drop his companion and run for his life, the Chinese being almost upon him. How he managed to get along at all with such a wound is a marvel—only the fear of a horrible death could have made him do it—and his attempt to save his comrade in the face of so awful a fate was an act of real unselfish heroism. As the Russians say, 'it is good to die in company:' it is much harder to meet death alone. The other poor fellow's body was subsequently recovered, dreadfully mutilated and with the head cut off. The Chinese Regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Bower, came up in the very nick of time, and kept the enemy back, so that the survivor was just able to get into safety. It is satisfactory to add that he ultimately recovered. The Chinese Regiment behaved admirably, and changed front under fire with the greatest coolness, an uncommonly creditable performance for a corps which had only been raised a little more than a year. It should be mentioned here that when the native city was captured an entry was found in the Viceroy Yu Lu's accounts of a hundred taels, paid for the heads of two American Marines who fell into the hands of the enemy during the advance of the troops from Taku to the relief of Tientsin. And on the day that the Hsi-ku Arsenal was relieved a Chinaman had been taken prisoner in whose possession was found a bag in which was the head of one of the English Marines killed in a sortie just before. These things naturally made the men very bitter and not inclined to show much

RECEPTION OF VICTORIOUS GENERALS, BRINGING WITH THEM HEADS OF THE DEFEATED ENEMY.
(Reproduction from coloured print taken from a Chinaman punished in Shanghai for distributing inflammatory placards.)

mercy; and they ought to be remembered when the ruthless vengeance inflicted upon the Chinese is being discussed. So far, too, as our own troops are concerned, we may be allowed to feel a pardonable pride that, in spite of so terrible a provocation, they held themselves in restraint in the way they did; no unnecessary cruelty can be laid to their charge.

The Chinese account of these occurrences is interesting. It is contained in an Edict published at the end of June:—

We have received from Yu Lu a memorial reporting that the foreigners had started trouble and suddenly seized a pretext for acts of war, but that in successive battles, lasting for several days, victories had been obtained.

The reading of this memorial greatly rejoiced and comforted us. China had lived in peace and harmony with all countries for years, but after all affairs have come to an open rupture owing to the hatred between the people and the converts to Christianity. Relying on their strong iron-clads and powerful armies, they (the foreigners) attacked the forts of our port of Taku and issued from Tsu-Chu-lin (*i.e.* the foreign quarter of Tientsin) in all directions to fight. But Yu Lu was everywhere at once, offering resistance; and also our Boxer troops aided him with all their heart and strength, opposing the rampart of their bodies to the assailing cannon and bayonets.

On June 25, 26, and 27 our forces destroyed two war-vessels and killed many of the enemy. The people's resolution had become like walls to protect their country, and the firmness of their minds raised the martial spirit of the troops. The Boxers who helped the troops so much in these actions are men of the people; with them the State need not use a soldier nor spend a dollar. Even the little children wielded arms in defence of their altars and fields.

In all their dangers the spirit of their ancestors, of the gods and sages, protected them. The myriads of the people are actuated by one ideal. We hasten to promulgate this Edict in praise of the patriotic Boxers, and to assure them that those of them who are in distress will be cared for. When these troubles are over we intend to bestow on them especial marks of our favour. Let these people's soldiers only still continue, with united hearts and utmost efforts, to repel oppression and prove their loyalty, without failing, till the end—this is our earnest desire. Reverence this.

The capture of the Arsenal, the guns from which commanded the river, enabled Admiral Seymour to get the women and children away within the next few days—a fortunate circumstance, as directly afterwards the Chinese received reinforcements in men and guns, and shelled the settlements vigorously until July 14, when the native city was assaulted and taken. During this protracted bombardment all the picquets were continually attacked, but the most dangerous position by far was the railway station on the other side of the river, which had to be crossed by a bridge of boats exposed to the full fire of the enemy. It was assailed day and night for several days in succession. It was held jointly by a force of Japanese, French, and British; the Japanese and French holding the platform and station buildings, whilst the engine-house was occupied by the British with a Maxim, which the Chinese kept trying to silence with two 9-pounders placed in a clump of trees not twelve hundred yards away. A hole was knocked in the wall of the engine-house through which the Maxim was fired, the men who

were not working it being made to lie down in the ashpit between the rails, which was covered over with planks to give them protection. The Chinese shooting was remarkably accurate. One day they put eight shells into the wall in a space of twenty feet, one shell killing and wounding seventeen of the Welsh Fusiliers, who were at that time on guard. The French and Japanese erected sandbag barricades along the platform, and lay down on the rails beneath them, firing through loopholes between the bags. Once or twice the fighting was so close as to be nearly hand to hand, for between the station and the Russian camp was an undefended gap of three-quarters of a mile, studded with Chinese graves, which afforded excellent cover. One dark night a number of Boxers managed to creep up unseen, and got behind some empty trucks standing in a siding, thereby cutting off the French in the station from the British in the engine-house. The situation seemed desperate, almost hopeless; but some Sikhs of the Hong-Kong Regiment, who happened to be on their way to relieve the bluejackets and Marines, discovered them just in time, and a fierce fight, lasting some three hours, took place all along the line, in which the Sikh native officer displayed great coolness and presence of mind, and the assailants were driven off with heavy loss. The Allies also lost heavily, their total casualties amounting to nearly 150, chiefly amongst the French and Japanese. The Chinese behaved with undeniable courage, and charged repeatedly from the trucks

with fixed bayonets, although they had so little knowledge of how to use their weapons that several of the bayonets were found with the scabbards still on them, as they had been served out from the Arsenal. They are certainly not wanting in pluck; all they require is good leading and a little military knowledge; at present they are like sheep led to the slaughter, hardly any of their officers having even an elementary knowledge of their duties.

A day or two before this attack, on June 6, Major Bruce, of the Chinese Regiment, made a determined effort to capture a Chinese 1-pounder quick-firing gun, which had been pushed up to within short range on the other side of the river and was causing much annoyance. The roadway to the bridge was swept by the enemy's fire, and the attempt had to be abandoned, two men being killed and five wounded; amongst the latter being Major Bruce himself, who was badly hit but ultimately recovered, and one of the 'Barfleur's' midshipmen, poor young Esdaile, who shortly afterwards died.

On June 9 a joint force, under the command of Brigadier-General Fukushima, cleared the Chinese away from the houses on the race-course (the Japanese cavalry doing especially good work and making a most effective charge), and then attacked and took the Hai-Kwan-Su Arsenal, thereby rendering the settlements much safer and more comfortable, as the shelling from the guns posted there had for some days past been exceedingly destructive.

In the early days of the bombardment the English Club was used as the base hospital until it was found to be in too exposed a position, when the wounded were moved into the Gordon Hall, where they were comparatively safe. Some of the injuries were extraordinary, and, as in South Africa, the modern bullet was found to inflict wounds without causing death in a way that would never have been credited before. Two men, for instance, were shot right through the brain, and yet recovered. One man, a bit of a wag, was hit in the mouth by a bullet which went through both cheeks, and carried away some of his teeth. 'Well,' he said, 'I am thankful it was no nearer my 'ead.' The hospitals, in spite of great difficulties, were excellently managed, and the men bore their sufferings bravely and uncomplainingly, though they were made perfectly wretched by the flies and the heat. The continual shelling, too, tried them dreadfully. It always does; it tries most sound men's nerves, and on the wounded it has the worst possible effect. But, strange to say, although the conditions were in every way unfavourable for antiseptic treatment, tetanus was almost unknown. Amongst our wounded there were altogether only two cases.

There was at one time a panic that the Chinese servants were not to be trusted. Everybody else's boy was under suspicion, though everybody seemed to have perfect trust in his own boy. It was even suggested that they should be turned out of the settlements—a proposal which was at once negatived,

as it would have amounted to handing them over to be massacred by the Boxers. The French priests behaved with the greatest humanity throughout. They fed and protected all the converts who came to them, Catholic and Protestant alike. Bishop Scott, of the S. P. G., took charge of a number of Chinese women belonging to his mission, and other missionaries did the same; and so did many of the private firms. But, in spite of this, many of the friendly Chinamen suffered terribly, their houses being mostly in exposed positions. One of them, a man of influence and position, had his wife and both his daughters killed by a bursting shell.

CHAPTER V

Assault of Tientsin City

On July 13 a heavy and continuous bombardment of the Tientsin native city was maintained from early dawn until about midday, most of the guns being on a mud wall, enclosing both the native city and the foreign settlements, known as San-ko-lin-sin's Folly, having been built by the Viceroy San-ko-lin-sin, after the Tientsin massacres in 1870, in the vain hope of being able to keep the obtrusive foreigners under efficient control.[1]

[1] The intensity of the fire may be gauged from the fact that 1,500 shells were poured into the city during that time from the British guns alone. The guns engaged were:—

British.—Two 4-in. quick-firing guns from H.M.S. 'Algerine,' throwing 25-lb. shells of lyddite or ordinary powder, and seven naval 6-pounders; four 12-pound quick-firing guns from H.M.S. 'Terrible;' four small 7-pound muzzle-loading mountain guns, belonging to the Hong-Kong Artillery, and a Maxim battery of four Maxims, mounted on ponies, also belonging to it. The Hong-Kong Artillery being under the command of Major St. John, R.A.

American.—Three 3-in. field-guns, using smokeless powder, and three Colt's automatic (6 millimètres).

Japanese.—Twelve mountain guns (7½ centimètres), using ordinary powder, and firing four shots a minute, mounted on Japanese ponies.

French.—Six mountain guns, 6-pounders of 1879 pattern, using melinite, with high trajectory and low velocity.

Austrian.—Two Maxim-Nordenfeldt machine guns from the 'Zenta.'

The Chinese guns, which for several days previously had shelled the settlements incessantly, were entirely dominated by the intensity of the fire directed upon them and hardly replied at all.

As soon as the bombardment began an allied army of some 5,000 men, under the command of the Japanese Brigadier-General Fukushima, as the senior officer present (Colonel Aoki being the Chief of his Staff), advanced under cover of the darkness on the western side of the Peiho, to a little arsenal, about two miles to the north-west of the settlements, which is known either as the Hai-Kwan-Su Arsenal or as the Treaty Pagoda Arsenal, there being in it a pagoda in which the Treaty of Tientsin was signed in 1860. The force was composed of 1,500 Japanese, who were largely in excess of the others (four battalions of infantry, one squadron of cavalry, two batteries of artillery with six guns each, and one company of sappers). The British, who were under Brigadier-General Dorward, C.B. (Admiral Seymour having returned to Taku some days previously), consisted of 150 bluejackets, 150 Marines, 160 men of the Welsh Fusiliers, 100 men of the 1st Chinese Regiment, and 150 of the Hong-Kong Regiment; in addition to whom were also the Hong-Kong Artillery and the naval guns. Under General Dorward's command were besides 45 Austrian Marines from the 'Zenta,' under Captain Indrach, and 900 Americans (infantry and Marine Artillery), under Colonel Meade, of the United States Marine Artillery. There

were also 900 French soldiers under Colonel de Pelacot.

The remainder of the Welsh Fusiliers and a number of bluejackets were despatched at the same time to hold the enemy in check at the railway station, whilst the Russians and Germans advanced in force on the east bank of the river to attack the batteries on the Lutai Canal.

As the day dawned and the troops came within the enemy's range they were met by a well-directed fire from the southern wall of the city, and from the suburbs outside it, and a number of men were wounded before they could be got under cover of the Arsenal embankment; Captain Lloyd, of the Royal Marine Light Infantry, who had gone all through the Seymour expedition unscathed, and who has been specially mentioned by Admiral Seymour for the great courage and zeal he then displayed, being killed almost instantaneously by a bullet in the throat. The most favourable point for attack would seem at first sight to have been the angle of the wall at its south-western corner in order to avoid the converging fire from the whole length of the crenellated battlements; but a canal intervened, which there was no means of bridging, the Chinese having opened the sluices and flooded the country on both sides of it. There was, too, another strong reason against attacking at the corner, inasmuch as there was a Chinese fort about 2,000 yards beyond, in which were posted several powerful modern guns. It was decided, therefore, to operate

instead against the south gate, advancing by a narrow paved causeway which runs in a straight line to it from the Arsenal. The troops deployed in the following formation: The French on the right, the Japanese, British, and Austrians in the centre, the Americans on the left; the Japanese cavalry forming a screen to protect the left front. The canal is crossed at the Arsenal by a small wooden bridge, 2,300 yards from the city gate, leading directly on to the flagged causeway. It had been burnt on July 9, during the successful attack on the Arsenal, in order to keep the Chinese guns from going from the city to the race-course, from which they had for some days previously maintained a galling flanking fire. The Arsenal itself was not held in strength, being too exposed to the fire from the city wall, but a Maxim was stationed in one of the houses beside the bridge to prevent the Chinese from repairing it. When the French reached this broken bridge, to take up their place on the right of the attacking line, they found there was no means to cross it, and they had to stay where they were under a withering fire whilst the Japanese sappers quickly made it passable. The French and Japanese troops then crossed it together, and proceeded along the causeway until they arrived at a little ditch, about six feet in width, running at right angles to the causeway, and filled with two or three feet of stagnant water. This ditch was barely 900 yards from the city gate, and on its far side was a

cluster of flimsy Chinese huts which gave a welcome though precarious shelter. Forty men were left to hold them, and about two hundred more advanced still further along the causeway until they got under shelter of a fringe of Chinese houses extending a couple of hundred yards outside the city wall, where they remained for the rest of the day; the Japanese sappers, whilst this was being done, throwing up an entrenchment in a very rapid and masterly fashion, and bridging one or two ditches that obstructed the advance.

The attack then developed as had been arranged; the Fusiliers and the Americans on the extreme left advancing almost in a straight line from the point where they crossed San-ko-lin-sin's Folly towards the western angle of the city wall, the advance company taking cover in a creek filled with rushes some 300 yards distant from the wall, and the remainder, with the Americans, sheltering themselves a little to the rear behind low mud walls and inequalities of the ground. To their immediate left, some 5,000 yards away, just out of range, was a large body of Chinese cavalry, whom they had to keep in check, as well as to keep down as much as possible the fire from the city wall. At times it was very heavy, and a number of men were hit. Sergeant Pierce was wounded in three places, and Corporal Crewe was killed whilst trying to carry him back into shelter. Private Doodson did actually succeed in carrying another wounded man back, and a little later in the day he

also carried a wounded Japanese out of the line of fire.[1]

Owing to some unfortunate misapprehension, when the American troops crossed the mud wall, two hundred of the 9th Infantry, under Colonel Liscum, instead of continuing straight forward, turned almost at a right angle, and marched directly across the front of the attack until they reached a position near the French settlement. They were in close formation, in sections of four, and found themselves exposed to a terrific rifle-fire from the whole line of the city wall, and were also enfiladed from the Chinese houses lying between the wall and the settlement. It was probably to confront this flanking fire that they changed the direction of their advance; but, as it turned out, they only laid themselves open to a worse fusillade than if they had gone straight on. Their sole cover was behind the Chinese graves, with which the plain is studded, small pyramids of earth, giving a certain protection against rifle-fire coming from one direction only, but hardly any against a cross-fire. Colonel Liscum, gallantly rallying them, and 19 of his men were killed, and Major Regan, Captain Noyes,

[1] One of the pleasantest features of the operations all through was the ready help that, in spite of a good deal of inevitable national jealousy and friction, all the different troops were ready to give each other in looking after their wounded. General Fukushima particularly mentions in one of his despatches that after the fight of July 3rd the Russians carried ten of the Japanese wounded to the Russian hospital, where they were treated with the greatest kindness; and some of the Russian wounded were likewise taken in and nursed in the Japanese base hospitals in Japan.

Lieutenant Lawton, Lieutenant Long, and 72 men were wounded. The steady courage they displayed in a desperate situation was in the highest degree admirable, but the mistake, however it occurred, was a lamentable one. An attempt to send them out fresh ammunition failed, Captain Ollivant of the Wei-hai-Wei Regiment being killed in a gallant effort to cross the zone of fire with some ammunition mules. He and Captain Lloyd were buried next day, by Bishop Scott, in the little graveyard in the British settlement, where lie the bodies of so many men who have done noble work in Northern China—of Gilmour of Mongolia, of Dr. Roberts, and of Dr. Mackenzie. It was a most solemn and touching ceremony, to which the terrible uncertainty regarding the fate of the Legations added a yet more impressive intensity. All that the Americans could do was to stay where they were until night came, when they fell back on the Arsenal, and sent in their wounded and dead, who amounted to just one half of their whole number. Soon after they got into their dangerous position, however, Lieutenant Phillimore of the 'Barfleur' had managed to get out to them with a few bluejackets, who were of the most material assistance to them in their exhausted condition, not only in helping them to hold their ground until nightfall, but in carrying back to the Arsenal those who had fallen. Major Pereira, of the Chinese Regiment, also went out twice to bring back their injured, being wounded himself in doing so. It was he who brought back word that

they were in want of ammunition, whereupon Captain Ollivant was sent to try and get some out to them. The Chinese Regiment behaved with great steadiness, although they had 19 men killed and wounded, including 2 officers, and one of their British sergeants.

General Dorward afterwards sent a letter to the American commander couched in the warmest terms:

I desire (he said) to express the high appreciation of the British troops of the honour done them in serving alongside their comrades of the American Army during the long and hard fighting of the 13th inst., and the subsequent capture of Tientsin City, and of my own appreciation of the high honour accorded to me by having them under my command. The American troops formed part of the front line of the British attack, and so had more than their share of the fighting that took place. The ready and willing spirit of the officers and men will always make their command easy and pleasant; and when one adds to that the steady gallantry and power of holding on to exposed positions which they displayed on the 13th inst., the result is soldiers of the highest class.

Colonel Liscum, it should be mentioned, was succeeded in the command of the 9th Regiment by Lieutenant-Colonel Coolidge.

When the bombardment had somewhat weakened the enemy's fire, General Fukushima ordered a combined advance, and then another unfortunate mistake occurred. He received word that his men had effected a lodgment on the city wall, and had actually got inside the city, and he therefore sent a request to General Dorward to stop the fire of the English guns, which was of course instantly done. Had they,

however, been kept in action only half an hour longer, the loss to the Japanese would have been considerably less, for the gunners had just succeeded in geting the exact range. Nevertheless, the mistake had one good result: it caused the whole line of the attack to be pushed forward, so that the troops were enabled to get nearer the city wall for the assault on the following morning, and were also able to obtain better cover. As soon as it was discovered that the Japanese were not in the city, all the guns again opened fire, but a good deal of valuable time had been lost.

Both the Japanese guns, and those of the Hong-Kong Artillery, were posted at different points inside the Arsenal, and along the mud wall, the large naval guns being placed also on the mud wall, but at some distance to the rear. The last-named guns were under the direction of Captain Bayly and of Lieutenant Drummond, and were beautifully worked. Whilst the Americans were being retired the guns were ordered to sweep the Chinese barricades constructed along the fringe of houses between the French settlement and the city, from which the fire on the American troops proceeded. The American troops themselves were only about three hundred yards from this fringe, and there was great danger of the artillery fire injuring them as well as the enemy; but it was so accurate that none of the Americans were hit.

Early in the afternoon a company of Marines, under Captain Harris and Lieutenant Lawrie, was ordered to reinforce the Japanese and French in the

midway houses on the causeway, with them going also the Austrian Marines from the 'Zenta,' under Captain Indrach. The fire was accurate and damaging, and as the position was of crucial importance, a number of bluejackets under Captain Beatty of the 'Barfleur' were hurried forward to their support. A good many men were wounded about this time. Lieutenant Field of the 'Barfleur' was struck by a bullet on the top of the head; fortunately not dangerously, and he was able to remain on the field until the close of the day.

It was at this juncture that Basil Guy, one of the 'Barfleur's' midshipmen, behaved in the gallant way which won for him the Victoria Cross. The Naval Brigade were under a heavy cross-fire, and several men fell, among them being an able seaman called McCarthy, who was shot about fifty yards from cover. Guy bound his wound up and ran to get help, as he found he was too heavy to lift by himself. He then went out again to him with the stretcher, and was helping to carry him in when McCarthy was shot dead. The rest of the men had by that time got under shelter, so the Chinese concentrated their fire on the party carrying the stretcher, who for a few minutes were in a perfect hail of shot, the ground all round being literally ploughed up by it.

The causeway is exceedingly narrow—not more than thirty feet in width. The troops advancing along it were consequently unable to extend, and were obliged to proceed in close order; they therefore

suffered terribly, not only from the unceasing rifle-fire from the city wall, but from an intermittent shell and shrapnel fire from two guns which the Chinese nad managed to get down to a water-mill just outside the city, on the right of the causeway, and less than a thousand yards from the midway houses. These houses were of the most tumble-down character, and if effectively shelled would in a very short time have been rendered untenable. And an additionally awkward thing was that the Japanese guns, as well as our own, had by this time expended all their ammunition, and were unable to reply. Happily, one of the Hong-Kong guns had still a few rounds left, and by its timely work did much to avert what might have been a serious disaster by drawing the fire of the Chinese guns upon itself. The Chinese fire on the whole was astonishingly good, one of their shells earlier in the day hitting one of the English guns, and damaging it so much as to put it out of action. This, perhaps, is hardly to be wondered at, for the Hong-Kong guns were using ordinary powder, the smoke from which rendered them easy to locate, whilst the smokeless powder used by the Chinese made it difficult to tell exactly where their guns were. All the same the British guns made exceptionally good practice, Havildar Roshan Khan succeeding, for instance, in putting out of action in four rounds a Chinese gun which had been doing much mischief.

None of the Sikhs—the Hong-Kong Artillery is worked by Sikhs under British officers (Major St. John

being in command, with Captain Weymouth as adjutant)—had ever been under artillery fire before, yet they behaved with the greatest possible coolness. Major St. John, fortunately, has had a long experience of Indian frontier warfare, and General Dorward has laid especial stress in his despatch upon the able way in which his men were handled.

Before long there was not sufficient room in the causeway-houses for all the men who had been sent out to them—many of whom were wounded—and a number had to take shelter in a ditch, standing up to their knees in the green stagnant water. The day was hot in spite of a heavy shower in the early part of the morning; their water-bottles were soon exhausted, and they were reduced to drinking the water they stood in, disgusting though its condition was. Some of the men made tea, and the French had a little wine, which they mixed with the water; but the majority drank it as it was, and suffered in consequence, dysentery being very rife afterwards all over Tientsin.

As night came on the situation looked decidedly gloomy. The Chinese had not been dislodged from their positions, and the losses of the attacking force had been exceedingly heavy. The question of retirement was mooted, to be unhesitatingly set aside, it being recognised that the only thing to be done was to cling resolutely and at all costs to the ground which had been already attained. During the night the enemy kept up a desultory fire, and Commandant

Vidal, who was in command of the French troops on the causeway, was wounded in the shoulder. On the whole the night passed fairly quietly, though it was a trying ordeal for the troops, fatigued as they were by the arduous fighting of the previous day, during which they had been exposed for hours to a hot sun, and had had very little to eat. The Japanese troops suffered particularly, as the ground they were holding on both sides of the causeway was about two feet deep in water; they were unable, therefore, to lie down, and had to remain standing all night long. It was terribly exhausting, but the men bore it wonderfully, the excitement of the approaching assault having much to do with keeping them up.

Just before sunrise the Japanese sappers made an attempt to blow in the outer city gate. The Chinese met them with a tremendous volley, and a bullet cut the electric wire which was being used to ignite the charge. Second-Lieutenant K. Inawe thereupon pluckily rushed forward, and exploded it with a lighted fuse, escaping, strange to say, quite unhurt. This gate only led into the enclosure; one of the soldiers, however, climbed the wall and opened the inner gate from the inside. The Chinese fled precipitately in all directions, and the Japanese entered the city and worked through to the Centre Pavilion, where they were joined by the Welsh Fusiliers; the other troops marching round on the broad city walls to keep as many as possible of the enemy from escaping. The Fusiliers then cleared

the city up to the north gate, and advanced beyond it to the Grand Canal, where they captured 200 junks and a small steamer (the Japanese also taking a number of junks), which were of great use to them on the march up to Peking. And at the same time they took possession of a small fort on the Grand Canal, in which they found four 12-pounder guns, with ammunition and equipment, and two 6-pounders which had never been fired.

After the troops got in there was a good deal of street fighting, and of firing from inside the houses; most of the Chinese soldiers divested themselves hurriedly of their uniforms and the Boxers of their red sashes and badges, hundreds of which were found lying about in every direction, and joined the fugitives who were streaming out of the city on the north. The streets were filled with the bodies of the people killed by the shells on the previous day. Comparatively few women were found amongst them, showing that many of the inhabitants had fled whilst they were still able to get away, leaving the city to be defended by the Boxers and by the Imperial troops.

The effect of the shell fire in the crowded streets was awful; the walls, however, had not suffered as had been expected, and in consequence the merits of lyddite as an explosive were much debated, many of the artillery officers being inclined to think them overrated. Of its terrifying effect on the Chinese there could be no doubt whatever; they looked upon it as

a kind of death-dealing magic, and its use as contrary to the laws of war. A native Christian wrote subsequently to the 'North China Daily News' protesting vehemently against its use :—

> The poisonous gas-cannon kills people so that though peaceful in their rooms they may die. They do not even know that they are dying. This is worse than other cannon by a good deal. Though in fighting we want to kill men, yet even in fighting there are rules. When, because of lack of skill or strength, or because the weapons are inferior, one is overcome, there is no great evil in it. He dies fairly. But using lyddite is a dark way of killing men; it involves a sin like that of premeditated murder. This is against Heaven's laws.

It is not unnatural that the Chinese should take this view, for it will be remembered that a declaration was made at the Hague Conference against the use of projectiles the object of which was the diffusion of asphyxiating and deleterious gases; the only dissentient being the United States delegate, who said that he did not see that a temporarily disabling gas was worse than a shower of lead—a remark in which there is much sound common sense. The real question to be considered is its effectiveness, and as to that the experts were divided in opinion.

The tactics employed were also freely criticised, and were not thought to be particularly skilful. Probably this was owing to divided counsels amongst the different commanders. The troops marched out of the Taku Gate soon after midnight, and ought under cover of the darkness to have been right

under the city wall at sunrise, and ready to blow in the gate and assault at once; or the assault might have been delivered whilst it was still dark, as was actually done on the succeeding night. Instead of that the men were halted a long way from the wall, and were then marched in broad daylight across an open plain, utterly devoid of cover, which had to be traversed in face of a heavy fire, under which they were halted for a couple of hours whilst the bridge over the canal was being repaired. Moreover, almost all the troops were engaged in the operations, only a handful being left to guard the settlement, and a large body of Chinese cavalry kept hovering, all day long, some little distance away on the left flank of the attack, and if they had been under a competent leader, or had had with them a few batteries of horse artillery, they might have effected an entrance into the settlements from the southern corner without much difficulty, and might have swept them easily from end to end, the heavy naval guns posted immediately behind the canal on the top of the mud wall being the only force available to oppose them. Recognising the peril of the situation, a little before dark a message was sent to the Russians, asking them if they could possibly spare a company or two of their men from across the river to act as settlement guards; they replied that they were fully occupied in the development of their own attack, and were unable to comply with the request.

But though from a tactical point of view the operations left a good deal to be desired, the position assailed being so strong, the assailing force so weak, when fighting against Orientals, dash and the offensive are the main things necessary—they so seldom fail; and it is always advisable to take a risk when the result to be obtained is worth it. The fall of Tientsin not only opened the road to Peking, but it relieved both Chefoo and Shanghai from a danger which was every day becoming greater. To a certain extent, too, it conduced to the safety of every foreigner in the interior of China, and there were a number in the various provinces whom a continuance of the state of affairs in Tientsin was placing in the most imminent daily peril.

The Chinese loss was estimated at about 5,000, and that sustained by the Allies at not quite 800; the Japanese suffering by far the most heavily, having a total of close upon 500 killed and wounded.

This loss, though considerable, was less than might have been expected from the natural strength of Tientsin, which, strongly fortified as it is, and situated at the junction of seven rivers and canals, is one of the strongest military positions in China—so strong, indeed, that held by any of the European Powers it would have been practically impregnable. The loss, moreover, would have been infinitely greater had the troops not bivouacked where they were at the end of the first day's fighting, for the main body of the Chinese troops evacuated their positions under cover

of the darkness when they found that their opponents showed no symptoms of falling back.

Whilst this attack was being made from the Hai-Kwan-Su Arsenal, the Russians and Germans on the other bank of the river circled round and stormed the batteries stationed on the Lutai Canal, taking them with comparatively little opposition, and capturing seven guns. During their advance one of the Chinese shells fell into a building inside the Russian lines in which, unknown to the Russians, dynamite was stored. The explosion that followed was terrific; although the building was some way off on the other side of the river, most of the houses in the settlement had their windows completely shattered by the concussion. The Russian General, who, with his Staff, was close by at the moment, had his hand damaged by a falling brick; his trumpeter was killed by his side, and a number of men were knocked flat upon their backs; oddly enough, no one else being hurt. The total Russian and German loss was about 150 in all, killed and wounded. The Russians were assisted by a 4-inch gun from the 'Algerine' and a 12-pounder gun from the 'Terrible' (both under the command of Lieutenant Luard of the 'Barfleur'), which rendered invaluable aid, as the Russians had with them only seven 12-pound Krupps of quite an old pattern. Our own guns were not particularly satisfactory. The Hong-Kong guns were obsolete, and until the arrival of the 'Terrible's' 12-pounders they were all the British had, with the exception of some very old-

fashioned naval 6-pounders. Indeed, the naval officers said that with the exception of the 'Terrible' and the 'Goliath' (which left England on June 1, and did not arrive in time to be of any use), none of our ships on the China Station were equipped with modern quick-firing 12-pounder guns at all.

After the city was captured the Chinese still had a strong defensive position if they had fallen back on the railway, and on the fort near the Viceroy's Yamên; but they had no heart left in them for further resistance, and on the afternoon of the 14th the Japanese entered the fort without fighting and took possession both of that and of the Yamên. Forty-five guns were found in the former, amongst them being the big Krupp which did such damage to the settlement in the early days of the bombardment, and several 15-pound Krupp field-guns of 1895 pattern.

Military control of the city was at once established. It was divided into four sections—British, American, French, and Japanese; the Russians and Germans not entering it at all, but remaining on the opposite side of the river. A great part of it was on fire, and the first thing to be done was to have the flames extinguished. This was a difficult matter, and it is computed that considerably more than a third of the city was consumed, the amount of property destroyed being enormous. The city was looted remorselessly (in great part by the Chinese themselves), but there was not much unnecessary cruelty;

indeed, considering the provocation that had been received, there was remarkably little.

The work of reorganisation fell chiefly upon the Japanese, who performed it admirably, and with creditable moderation and self-restraint. Yu Lu, the Viceroy, managed to effect his escape from the Yamên, and a few days afterwards committed suicide at Tung-Chow by swallowing gold, the method of killing themselves employed, as a rule, by Chinese officials of high rank, the whole of his family committing suicide with him. His fate was a hard one. Up to the actual outbreak of hostilities he had done his best to suppress the Boxers, and to protect the foreigners, and on June 9 he had actually tendered his resignation because all his measures to control the Boxers were, he declared, thwarted by Wang-Pei-Yu, the Governor of Peking. Jung Lu was in favour of accepting it, and of appointing in his place Li Hung Chang, who had previously ruled in Tientsin with so iron a hand; but Kang Yi, another of the Ministers, objected, and proposed instead the notorious Li Ping Heng; the result being that Yu Lu was ordered to remain where he was. If this was so—and there seems little doubt about it—it seems hard that a demand should have been made for Yu Lu's posthumous degradation—a very terrible thing for a Chinese family—simply because he made a gallant resistance when hostilities had once commenced. The harshness of the measure is the more undeserved because Yu Lu had placed himself in considerable

peril by the efforts he had made to keep the insurrection in check. Mr. Carles, the British Consul in Tientsin, who, to his infinite credit, would not allow his judgment to be warped by the provocation of the moment, pointed this out in a letter to Lord Salisbury dated June 16, the day after that on which the Boxers attacked the Tientsin settlements :—

I have the honour to enclose (he wrote) translations of two telegrams which were sent by General Nieh to the Viceroy at Tientsin on the 11th June.

The first was dispatched, as I understand, in answer to a telegram from the Viceroy desiring General Nieh to escort the foreign guards on their way to Peking, a friendly act which was followed by His Excellency giving instructions for a train to be placed at the disposal of the guards. I wish to draw attention to these acts, as they were done in our interest, and with the object of assisting the relief party to reach Peking speedily.

The result to the Viceroy is expected to be his disgrace, and possibly his execution.

And on July 29, after the capture of Tientsin city, Mr. Carles again wrote :—

I have the honour to enclose translation of some pages from the Viceroy's Register of telegrams sent by His Excellency from the 10th to the 15th ult. The pages were found in the Viceroy's yamên and given to me by Mr. Evans, of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

The record of these telegrams appears to prove beyond question that the telegraph line to Peking was interrupted on the 11th June, that the Viceroy was doing his best to protect the missionaries in different parts of the province, and that he was in accord with the Viceroys and Chang-Chih-Tung, and probably Liu-K'un-Yi, up to the 15th June,

as to the policy to be pursued. The receipt, on the 15th June, of Imperial orders seems to have forced the Viceroy and General Nieh to assume an attitude of hostility towards foreigners, which they had not taken up to that date.

Mr. Carles's letters bring to recollection the action taken by a distinguished Indian officer after the occupation of Cabul. 'I will not have men hanged,' he said, 'merely for fighting gallantly against us. I must have actual proof that they were concerned in Cavagnari's assassination.' There has been altogether too little of that kind of spirit shown in China.

A joint administration was formed to govern the city of Tientsin, under three commissioners, Major-General Wogack, Lieutenant-Colonel Bower, and Lieutenant-Colonel Aoki, and a number of Chinese were enlisted to act as police. They did excellent work, and became a very smart serviceable set of men, although they had to be taught their drill by a Madras sepoy, who did not understand a word of Chinese. It was a curiously international corps, Captain Mockler, of the Indian Army, being in command, with Lieutenant Angeli, an Italian, as his adjutant, and Lieutenant Bauer, an Austrian, as second in command.

INTERNATIONAL CHINESE POLICE IN TIENTSIN CITY, UNDER COMMAND OF CAPTAIN MOCKLER; DRILLED BY LANCE-CORPORAL 1ST MADRAS PIONEERS.

MEMORIAL ARCH, PEKING.

CHAPTER VI

The Advance to Peking—British and American Action—Battle of Peitsang—and of Yangtsun—March to Ho-hsi-wu

Tientsin City was taken on July 14, and then followed a long three weeks' wait until August 4, when the march to Peking began. A strange lethargy seemed to take possession of every one, with an utter disbelief in the possibility of saving the Legations. All that was thought of was the infliction of vengeance, and that it should be as complete as possible. So the original arrangement was that the advance should be begun about September 15 and with not less than 60,000 men, the most exaggerated estimates being propounded of the Chinese power of resistance. On July 3 a conference of commanding officers was held at Taku, at which it was decided that it was not safe to advance until these 60,000 troops had been landed—20,000 to hold the position and 40,000 for the advance upon Peking—and it was not expected that they could by any possibility arrive before the end of September.[1]

[1] Mr. Whitehead, on July 5, stated to Lord Salisbury in a letter from Tokio that, in Viscount Aoki's opinion, 'the difficulties of an expedition to Peking at this season were almost insurmountable, as

To those in Tientsin who had friends in Peking the suspense was agonising, for letters had been received showing that the Legations were still holding out, but were at the last extremity, and it maddened them that they should apparently be left to their fate, as they would have been had the advance been delayed until the arrival of the reinforcements for which it had been decided to wait.

This decision was come to upon the assumption that the Legations had fallen, and that all the people in them had been massacred. But on July 4 the American Secretary of State procured, through the Chinese Minister in Washington, the forwarding of a telegram in cipher to Mr. Conger, the United States Minister in Peking, and on July 20 the following answer was received from him, also in cipher: 'For one month we have been besieged in British Legation under continued shot and shell from Chinese troops. Quick relief only can prevent general massacre.' General Gaselee and General Chaffee thereupon both insisted that an attempt at relief should be made at all hazards; that the primary object of the expedition was the rescue of the Legations, and not the making of war upon China; and they declared that if

maize was standing high in the whole plain, and there were no roads along which artillery or cavalry could advance. The Chinese had also opened the sluices of the Peiho, and the water in that river had consequently fallen so much that boats drawing more than three or four feet of water could not navigate it. He considered that for a successful attack on Peking a force of at least 70,000 men would be necessary, and he seemed doubtful whether the forces at present landed could even hold Tientsin and Taku.

no one else would come, the British and Americans would advance by themselves at any cost. This resulted in the expedition being started at least six weeks earlier than it would otherwise have been; and though the credit of the actual relief must be given most to the Japanese, who had the greatest number of troops, and who consequently led the way, and bore the brunt of the fighting, it was due, nevertheless, to the British and American initiative that the advance was not delayed until it must, almost certainly, have been too late. General Gaselee, indeed, acted in the same spirit throughout the whole campaign, his one thought being the safety of the people in Peking, not any possible credit to himself or to his troops. There was a good deal of grumbling because, during the march, after the first two days, from Yangtsun onwards, the British took up a position in the rear of all the rest. But it is now known that this was due to the fact that not only were the British fewer in number than either the Russians or the Japanese, but because, when the advance seemed likely to be delayed owing to the jealousies of the different nations, none of them being willing to accept a position behind the others, General Gaselee said that the British would take the rearguard, as he only wanted to get to Peking, and did not care which of the columns got there first, so long as they got there, and the Legations were relieved. It was, consequently, a sincere gratification to all who knew how generously he had acted that, after all, General Gaselee should

have had the good fortune to have been the very first to enter the Legations.

Nothing much was done in the way of active hostilities until August 4. To the casual observer it seemed as though the troops were only marking time, and many were the expressions of impatience at what seemed an unnecessary delay; but underneath the apparent inaction a vast amount of quiet organisation was being carried on. The wounded and sick were sent down the Peiho by boat to Taku, thence to be shipped on to Wei-hai-Wei and Japan; the railway (which by the vote of the Allied admirals was entrusted to Russian management, the Russians having with them a special railway regiment) was brought into fairly efficient working order, five trains a day being run from Tientsin to Tong-ku; and ammunition and stores, and the reinforcements that were every day arriving, were pushed forward with as much rapidity as could be reasonably expected, considering the many causes that existed for international friction. By August 4 the preparations were complete, and the Allied force started from Tientsin made up as follows:—Japanese, 8,000, under Lieutenant-General Baron F. Yamaguchi, with Major-General-Fukushima as Chief of the Staff; British, 3,000, under Lieutenant General Sir A. Gaselee, with Chief of the Staff General Barrow; Russian, 4,500, under General Linievitch; American, 2,500, under General Chaffee; and French, 800, under General Frey; making altogether a total force of 18,800. The Germans

were unrepresented, which gave occasion for a good deal of remark, and to the surmise that the German troops in China were to be concentrated at Kiao-Chau, for the furtherance of German interests in the province of Shangtung, in the same way that a portion of our troops were diverted to Shanghai for the protection of our own interests in the Yangtze Valley. The total Japanese force operating in Northern China was altogether 22,000. They had not all arrived when the relief force started, but were pushed to the front as quickly as possible as soon as they were landed. The Russians left 3,000 men at their base camp between Tientsin and Taku, and a handful of British troops were also left in Tientsin. It had been originally intended that Sir A. Gaselee should have under his command a compact force of rather over 7,000 men; but half of the troops he brought with him from India were stopped at Hong-Kong and Shanghai by telegraphic instructions from the Home Government. This may perhaps have been a wise measure so far as our ultimate interests in the centre and south of China are concerned; but it led to our assuming a very subordinate position in the operations in the north, the Japanese being in such preponderating strength that they were able to do almost the whole of the offensive work of the march, except at Yangtsun, where, being on the other side of the river, they were not engaged.

On the afternoon of August 4 the British and American troops marched out from the Tientsin

settlements to the Hsi-ku Arsenal, which is some three miles on the northern side of the native city, their respective forces being made up as follows :—British : Four companies of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers, the 1st Bengal Lancers, the 12th Field Battery (by a strange coincidence the same battery that took part in the campaign of 1860), the Hong-Kong Artillery and the naval guns, the 1st Sikhs, the 7th Rajpoots, and the 24th Bengal Infantry. Americans : The 9th and 14th Regiments of United States Infantry, a field-battery, and a battery of Marine Artillery. The Russians were in possession of the Hsi-ku Arsenal, and they and the French operated together on the opposite bank of the Peiho, with the exception of General Stössel and the East Siberian Rifle Brigade, who supported the Japanese. In the middle of the night 10,000 Japanese troops reached Hsi-ku, and proceeded at once to attack the Chinese position, which was a formidable one, some two miles to the north, and succeeded in capturing a Chinese battery of twelve guns. About 2 A.M., after the Japanese arrived, a general advance was begun of all the troops, who were wet and cold, as a heavy thunderstorm had come on about midnight, and the men had had to bivouac without tents or shelter of any kind. The Chinese force was estimated at 25,000 men. A heavy artillery-fire was kept up for several hours by both sides, the Chinese shells being accurately placed and their rifle-fire heavy, though rather erratic. The Japanese advanced under cover of the guns right up

to the Chinese position at Nansung, where the enemy had fortified themselves strongly at a bend of the river. The Chinese did not wait to receive them, but fled hurriedly across the river, evacuating both Nansung, and a still stronger position a couple of miles further on at Peitsang. Whilst this Japanese frontal attack was being made the British guns were pushed forward so as to outflank the Chinese entrenchments, and it was no doubt owing to their fear of being enfiladed that the Chinese fled with such haste. The Bengal Lancers were also pushed forward, but the crops were too thick and high to enable them to be used to any advantage. The Chinese losses were small, hardly any dead being found on the field. Their earthworks were extensive, and both their gun emplacements, and the shelter trenches for their infantry, were designed with a considerable amount of skill. The Japanese, on whom the brunt of the action fell, lost heavily, having 60 killed and 240 wounded, the British loss being 4 killed and 21 wounded. The Americans did not come into action, but were held in reserve. The Russians and French, who were assisted by the British naval guns, and the Hong-Kong Artillery, from the wall of the Hsi-ku Arsenal, ought to have been able to inflict great damage as the enemy retired across the river; but they only succeeded in advancing a short way, as the Chinese had opened the sluices, and flooded a great portion of the intervening country on the other side of the river between Hsi-ku and Peitsang—this being

a favourite device in Chinese warfare. The Russians had only six men wounded. There was no time to pause: it was necessary to keep the enemy in retreat. So early on the following morning, August 6, a rapid advance was made to Yangtsun, the Japanese being on the right bank of the river, and the British, Americans, Russians, and French on the left. It was found that at Yangtsun, some eight miles further up than Peitsang, the Chinese had entrenched themselves strongly on the right bank of the Peiho, behind the railway embankment. They had also partially wrecked the railway bridge, making it impossible for the Japanese to co-operate from the other side of the river.

The Russians and French attacked on the left, the British and Americans on the centre and right. About midday the enemy had just been driven out of their position, when by some mistake the Allied guns opened fire upon their own troops, and killed and wounded a number both of Americans and of the Indian troops. More damage still would have been done had not an American officer, with great gallantry, ridden right along in front of the guns, waving his hand and calling out, 'Stop firing; you are killing our own men.' Private Jackson, of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers, who were under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Bertie, stood up on the railway embankment, in the line of fire both of the guns and of the retreating Chinese, and tried to make the gunners aware of what they were doing, but without success, their fire being

eventually stopped by General Stewart sending an orderly to explain what was happening. During the action the Bengal Lancers unfortunately mistook a body of Russians for Chinese, and opened fire upon them, which the Russians promptly returned, wounding a native officer and two horses. The Americans sustained 72 casualties, the British 45 (including one officer, Lieutenant Costello, of the 1st Sikhs, who was hit in the knee), and the Russians 118, including 2 officers, their advance guard, under Colonel Mödl, having a very stiff fight to gain possession of the railway station and bridge.

The Chinese position was really stronger than at Peitsang, and that the loss was so much slighter than that of the Japanese in that action was thought to be due to the attack being made in extended order, instead of in the close formation adopted by the Japanese. The Russians, however, used the same close formation, and suffered more heavily in consequence.

All the next day (August 7) the troops remained resting quietly at Yangtsun, as the two previous days had been days of great fatigue; and early on the morning of the 8th they started again, with the exception of the French, who remained behind, as they were short of transport. It was arranged before leaving Yangtsun, at a conference of the Allied generals, that the Japanese should go first as far as Tung-Chow, in order not to delay the march, they being already ahead, but that at Tung-Chow a halt

should be made, and arrangements then come to for a simultaneous parallel advance upon Peking. After an uneventful march of ten miles, though an exceedingly trying one on account of the heat, a large village was reached, called Tsaitsun, on the banks of the Peiho, to which the junks with the heavy guns were able to get up the same afternoon. A couple of squadrons of the Bengal Lancers, and the Japanese cavalry, were sent to reconnoitre, and reported that they were within a mile of the enemy's outposts, and that the Chinese had with them both cavalry and light artillery; and at daybreak on the following morning, the 9th, the Japanese advanced rapidly towards Ho-hsi-wu, and began to shell it. At the same time their cavalry, and two squadrons of the Bengal Lancers under Major (now Lieutenant-Colonel) Hayes, who was instructed to act under the orders of the Japanese Commandant, who was the senior in rank, were sent to turn the enemy's flank.

With them was also a small body of some sixty Cossacks; the officer in command declined, however, to place himself under the Japanese, and acted independently. This shows how difficult a problem is before Europe to maintain for an indefinite time the accord of the different Powers in Peking, when it was not possible to induce them to co-operate harmoniously together in face of a common enemy, and with the same object in view—the relief of the beleaguered Legations. The disposition of the troops

produced exactly the desired effect. The Chinese, as soon as they found themselves in danger of being outflanked, fled, as they have always done whenever their flank has been threatened. They had dug an enormous cutting running down to the riverside, and extending for about a couple of miles almost completely round the village; it was twenty feet deep and from twenty to thirty feet in width, and made the village practically unapproachable for guns and transport without bridging. There had, by good luck, been little rain, and the Peiho was unusually low for the time of the year—too low to allow the water to run into the cutting, and it was still perfectly dry. It was really intended, not only as a means of defence to Ho-hsi-wu, but, by diverting the water from the Peiho, so to lessen its depth below Ho-hsi-wu as to render junk navigation impossible.

Two squadrons of the Bengal Lancers, under Major Hayes, during the day came upon a force of four hundred Chinese cavalry, whom they dispersed without difficulty, killing forty or fifty, and capturing their standards. The Japanese Commandant subsequently wrote and expressed his appreciation of the good work they had done.

The Japanese, who led the advance, invariably marched early in the morning; after them came the Russians, next the Americans, and finally the English, who brought up the rear. This disposition was arranged at Yangtsun, at the conference of the Allied generals, and the British post in the rear was

due both to General Gaselee's desire to lessen the dangerous international friction and to facilitate the march, and to the necessity of their remaining as near as possible to the junks with the heavy guns, which as a rule took much longer to arrive at the camping ground than the troops did, on account of the greater distance to be covered, owing to the windings of the river. Still, there was apparently no reason for starting the British troops so late in the day as was done on several occasions. It seems to have been due to want of system more than anything else, the weak spot in the British force being the presence of a Divisional Staff without any division. This created a good deal of unavoidable confusion.

CHAPTER VII

The Advance to Tung-Chow

From Ho-hsi-wu the Allies pressed rapidly forward, the Japanese outposts being always a mile or two in advance. They were never out of touch with the enemy, who were kept so incessantly on the move that they had not time to entrench themselves. It saved a repetition of the heavy loss of life that occurred in the frontal attacks at Peitsang and Yangtsun, and it utterly demoralised the Chinese. Yet it was a marvel that the Japanese stood so well the fatigue, not only of the long marches in the great heat, but of the running fights around every village on the line of advance, a man or two being lost in nearly all of them. The Chinese invariably kept up a terrific fusillade for a few minutes, sometimes for as much as a quarter of an hour, as their assailants came within range, but they fled at once when the attack was pressed home, leaving half-eaten melons strewn all about in evidence of the precipitation of their retreat. Towards the end they were evidently in great straits for food, several horses being found which had been killed and partly eaten. The

Japanese generals never let go their grip of them for a moment. They felt that it would lead to a useless expenditure of life if the Chinese were allowed time to make earthworks, and that they must be kept on the run at all costs; and the result proved that they were right. 'You are looking tired, General,' a correspondent said to General Fukushima. 'Yes,' he replied, 'I am, and our troops are tired; but the enemy are more tired, and we mean to keep them so.'

On the 10th and 11th Ma-Tou and Chang-Chia-Wan were respectively occupied, after two very hot and trying marches. Lt.-Col. Makafkin, Captain Munthe, and Lt. von Bluhme, with a small party of Cossacks, fell into an ambuscade outside Chang-Chia-Wan. They lost several men, and had the narrowest escape of being cut up altogether. On the afternoon of the 11th Tung-Chow was bombarded by the Japanese guns, and it was anticipated that the Chinese would stand there if they meant to stand at all, it being a large and wealthy city. To every one's unfeigned surprise when the troops advanced, early on the 12th, they met with no resistance, the Chinese soldiers having left in a body a few hours before. The townspeople were unmolested, and were given Japanese flags to carry about with them as a protection. It is impossible to express the universal feeling of admiration excited all through this campaign by the conduct of the Japanese—by their extraordinary self-restraint, as well as by their courage and military capacity. The

women and children have been perfectly safe in their hands, and after the heat of battle has been over they have spared even the Chinese soldiers, merely making them work as coolies, and paying them forty cents a day, like the rest of the Chinese coolies in Japanese employment; those with the British troops being paid a similar amount.

It is only five miles from Chang-Chia-Wan to Tung-Chow, and the Russians, Americans, and British were all able to get up in good time to have a long rest, which they greatly needed, for the fatigue of the last few days had been excessive. The junks with the naval guns, under Captain Callaghan, arrived safely the same evening; Tung-Chow being the last place on the Peiho to which junks can ascend. It was on that account the great depôt for the tribute rice sent up from the Southern provinces, and 115,000 piculs, or 7,500 tons, were taken possession of by the Japanese, to whom it proved to be a veritable god-send, as their food mostly consists of rice. On the evening of the 12th there was a conference of the generals, and it was arranged that the troops should remain where they were until the following day (the 13th), in order to recruit themselves for the heavy fighting which was expected at Peking, and that each force should send out a cavalry reconnaissance, to be pushed gradually to within three miles of Peking, and that on the 14th the main body of the Allies should advance up to their cavalry outposts. Colonel Gartside-Tipping, of the 1st Bengal Lancers, accord-

ingly moved out at four o'clock on the morning of the 13th, in command of a detachment consisting of the 1st Bengal Lancers, the 7th Rajpoots, and a Royal Artillery gun section.

The Japanese and Russians also sent forward reconnoitring parties. During the day no fighting occurred, the villages between Tung-Chow and Peking being absolutely deserted. About twelve o'clock that night a Cossack came back to Tung-Chow, which is only thirteen miles from Peking, with a message that the Russian reconnoitring party had advanced right up to the city walls, and had effected a lodgment on the wall of the Tartar City, and that they were in want of immediate reinforcement. All the troops in Tung-Chow were thereupon hurried up to the front as rapidly as possible. As it turned out the result was fortunate, and the Legations were relieved a day earlier than they would otherwise have been. The attack, however, had in consequence to be made without any kind of concerted plan, the Allied forces all acting independently of each other, and if the Chinese had had any real skill in warfare the result might have been serious. Each of the Allies marched up by the road along which its reconnoitring party had preceded it, and it was that only which determined the gates by which they respectively entered.

On receiving word from the Russians that their advance guard was engaged, the main body of British troops left Tung-Chow about 2 A.M. on the 14th, and advanced, when within a few miles of the south-

east gate, in attack formation, supported by the field-battery. They then bombarded a village about a mile outside the walls, and sent a few shells into the city itself, and meeting with no reply, went on almost unopposed, and entered the Chinese city by the south-east gate, the Sha-hao-men, working through its narrow streets until they arrived opposite the middle southern gate of the Tartar city, the Chien-men. This portion of the Tartar city was held in strength by the Legations, and the troops were welcomed from the battlements by the besieged garrison, who were, however, unable to let them in, so for a short time they were exposed to an uncomfortable street fire, both from the Chinese city and from the further side of the wall, which did no damage, the Chinese as usual firing wildly and too high. In the meantime General Gaselee, taking with him the 7th Rajpoots and a few of the 1st Sikhs under Major Scott, D.S.O., made a dash for the Water Gate, which opens into the canal, which runs between the British and Japanese Legations, and succeeded in getting through without much trouble.

The scene inside the Legations was indescribably affecting, for the Chinese during the last two nights had renewed the attack more fiercely than ever. That General Gaselee knew of the Water Gate, which is a sluice underneath the wall through which the surplus surface water of the Tartar city passes, was due to the forethought of Sir Claude Macdonald, who had managed to send out a cipher letter telling him that

that would be the best way to enter. This letter reached the British camp at Tsaitsun, and as there was no code with the force by which it could be deciphered, Captain Griffin, of the 1st Bengal Lancers, returned to Tientsin with a couple of sowars and brought back a translation from the British Consul. The use of the cipher was a necessary precaution, for if the Chinese had had the least inkling of what was intended they would have concentrated outside the Water Gate, and would also have held the gate by which the British entered the Chinese city in much greater strength than they did. As it was, they apparently expected the attack to be made on one of the eastern gates of the Tartar city, and had arranged for their chief resistance to be made there.[1] Mr. Squiers, the secretary of the American Legation, with a party of Russian and American Marines under Captain Vroubleffsky and Captain Percy Smith, then proceeded to the Chien Gate, which they opened, allowing the 1st Sikhs under Colonel Pollock and the Hong-Kong Artillery to enter; Captain Bland, R.A., of the Hong-Kong Artillery, with four Maxims and thirty Sikhs, being sent along inside the wall to keep the enemy back, which they succeeded in

[1] General Gaselee in his despatch says: 'I have since learnt that the absence of all opposition at the Chinese city wall was due to the premature attack made by the Russians and Japanese, which had the effect of drawing all the defenders of the Chinese city wall northwards. When we appeared it was too late to recall the troops thus withdrawn, and so mortified was the responsible Chinese general at his mistake that he committed suicide on the spot.'

CENTRE OF THE UNIVERSE, IN GROUNDS OF THE TEMPLE OF HEAVEN, PEKING.

WATER-GATE UNDER WALL OF TARTAR CITY, PEKING, BY WHICH GENERAL GASELEE ENTERED.

1ST BENGAL LANCERS LEAVING PEKING.

doing very effectually, only two men being wounded in the whole force.

In the meantime the Russians had been having a much more severe fight at the Tung-pien, the gate by which they had attempted to enter the night before. Their reconnoitring party, on seeing no signs of the Chinese, had gone quietly on under cover of the darkness until they found themselves right up beneath the outer walls, at the angle where the walls of the Chinese and Tartar cities join. They had only three guns, and an escort of 400 infantry under Lieutenant-Colonel Mödl. It was pitch-dark, and after disposing of the Chinese guard on duty on the bridge, immediately outside the Tung-pien Gate, and blowing a hole in the gate itself with the guns, they proceeded some distance, still in the darkness, along the wall of the Tartar city. Then the moon rose, and exposed them to full view. The Chinese instantly fired, and killed nearly all the battery horses, upon which the infantry were ordered to pull the guns back into shelter, about half a mile away. They succeeded in doing this, but with heavy loss, General Vasilievski, the Russian Chief of the Staff, who was in command of the party, being hit in the shoulder, and 26 men killed and 102 wounded. It was a splendid if wasteful performance. All they could then do was to retain possession of the outer gate until the reinforcements for which they had sent came up from Tung-Chow. These did not arrive until ten o'clock on the following morning, and until they came the detachment was exposed to a continuous

fire from the guardhouse on the wall of the Tartar city. They were also threatened from the rear by a body of Chinese Mahommedans, who advanced along the Chinese city wall, but who dispersed at once before the Russian onset, a company being sent against them with the bayonet.

Captain Munthe, a Norwegian cavalry officer in the Chinese Customs, who had volunteered to go with the Russians as interpreter, greatly distinguished himself during this attack, General Vasilievski and he being the first to rush through the Tung-pien gate when it was blown in. He it is who has reconstructed Yuan-Shih-Kai's army, and brought it to so remarkable a condition of efficiency. His services all through the campaign were, indeed, invaluable, no one having so intimate a knowledge of the organisation of the Chinese troops, and of what they were capable, as he had.

In all probability this premature Russian attack on the night of the 13th was the saving of the Legations. It had not been intended to deliver the assault until the 15th, and on the night of the 13th the Chinese assailed the Legations with great fierceness, pouring in a terrible musketry-fire for several hours, which could be heard quite distinctly in the outposts, some three miles distant from the city wall. Then when the Russians assaulted the Tung-pien Gate the Chinese troops had to be drawn off to oppose them there. But for that it would have gone hard with the Legations. The Japanese were always well

informed, and the evening before at Tung-Chow they had information that the Chinese had at least fifty thousand of their best troops in Peking, and that they meant to defend it stubbornly. 'It will be a two-days business, I expect,' one of their officers said to me, 'as at Tientsin—first day bombardment, second day assault.' And he added: 'I think it will be very dangerous for the Legations when we attack; the people there will probably be all killed before we can get to them.'

The Japanese attack was on the Tong-Chih and Tsai-hun gates of the Tartar city, those being the gates by which the Tung-Chow road enters. A rumour had reached their generals that the Russians were already inside Peking, and that there would be no serious opposition, and their advance column was marching quietly up to the Tong-Chih Gate about eight o'clock in the morning, when the Chinese suddenly opened a hot rifle-fire from the top of the city walls. Every one took cover as best he could by the sides of the houses, and behind the pillars of a memorial arch which there crosses the street, and a regiment of Japanese infantry was ordered to advance, which they did with a glorious joyous alacrity, whilst the sappers went ahead to try to blow in the gate with dynamite. The fire, however, was too hot, and sixteen men were killed and wounded in a very few minutes. The troops were then ordered to take what cover they could find in the shops lining the street leading up to the gate, whilst the guns

were brought into position some 1,200 yards to the rear. A continuous artillery fire was then maintained on the gate, and on the city wall, fifty-four guns being brought into action—thirty-six mountain and eighteen field-guns.[1] The noise was deafening, for the Japanese guns, from some cause or other, have a very resonant report. The walls of the Tartar city are enormously thick at the base, consisting of two strong brick walls, the intervening space within being filled up with mud. This gate is crowned by a high tower, and is exceedingly strong, formed by a tunnel through the wall, closed by massive doors. The difficulty was to get at it to blow it up, for the main gate was surrounded by a semicircular *enceinte*, which was entered by a similar gate placed at right angles to the direction of the main gate.

The Japanese loss was close upon 200 killed and wounded, amongst the former being Lieutenant Yezaki.

They captured nine Krupps and 100 old-fashioned Chinese guns.

The Chinese were not able to use their guns, the heavy bombardment which they had kept up on the Legations during their two months' siege having exhausted all their gun ammunition. (The Hôtel Péking, for instance, alone had ninety-one shells

[1] The Japanese fired no less than 4,500 shells during the course of the day, without doing any great damage to the wall, but killing a good many men, over 300 dead being found on the ramparts, besides those killed in the houses inside the city.

through it, and other places were almost equally battered, notably the French and Japanese Legations.)

In the middle of the night, by the light of a brilliant moon, the Japanese again assaulted the gate, and this time with success. It was blown up, and the troops entered and fought their way through the narrow streets for several hours, finally reaching the Legations in the early morning. Their loss, as I have said, was heavy, but the part of the city which they attacked was the most difficult of any to operate in.

The Legations were relieved on the 14th; still, all day long, on the 15th, fighting went on with the Chinese in the Imperial city, in which the Chinese troops had taken refuge. A great portion of it was captured by the Americans, who, with the French, had entered the Chinese city immediately after the Russians by the Tung-pien Gate; Colonel Daggett of the 14th Infantry having managed to scale the city wall a little way below the gate.

The American loss during the two days' fighting was 5 men killed and 19 wounded; amongst the killed being, unfortunately, Captain Reilly of the 8th Artillery, an officer who had done brilliant service both in Cuba and in the Philippines. He was shot dead on the morning of the 15th, almost at the beginning of the attack on the Imperial city.

During the afternoon of the 16th the French, under General Frey (with whom co-operated 350 men under the command of Major Luke, R.M.L.I.), and a large force of Japanese, circled round the

Forbidden City, and relieved the Peh-tang, the Roman Catholic Mission, where the Bishop, Monseigneur Favier, and thirteen Lazarist Fathers, assisted by thirty French and eleven Italian Marines, had made so noble a defence of the native Christians and of the Sisters of Charity; six of the Italians being killed and five of the French. Their defence was a marvellous one, the shelling being incessant; on one day alone as many as 300 shells being fired into them. They had only forty rifles all told, and one gun which they had taken from the Chinese. For two months they had held no communication with the Legations; they had been forced to make their own powder; and when they were relieved their food was almost exhausted. The Chinese also worried them continually with skilfully made mines, in the construction of which they have always been adepts. Four were successfully exploded, and caused the death of a great number of people; in one of the explosions no less than eighty persons being killed. Besides the Fathers there were ten European and ten Chinese Sisters, and no less than 3,200 converts, of whom more than half were women and children. The Mother Superior, who had lived nearly all her life in China, survived just long enough to witness the relief, dying three or four days afterwards.[1]

[1] The Peh-Tang Cathedral was moved to its present position in 1898 because the original Cathedral was supposed to interfere with the 'Feng-Shui' of the Dowager Empress's Palace, and a very large sum was given to Bishop Favier to build the present one, besides the excellent site upon which it stands. This shows how much can be

TOMBS OF THE ANCESTORS, PEKING.

GATE OF BRITISH LEGATION, PEKING.

The Allies at the same time took possession of the Tombs of the Ancestors, and of the Me-Shan or Coal Hill, which commands the whole of Peking, the only portion of the city not then in their hands being the Imperial Palace—'The Forbidden City,' as it is called, the most sacred spot in China, in parts of which no foreigner had ever set his sacrilegious foot. It was not entered until some ten days later, when a triumphal march was made through it.

The defence of the Legations was a truly heroic one; and the story of it, told as it has been told in Sir Claude Macdonald's despatches, and by Dr. Morrison and others, cannot be read without emotion. There is no occasion to re-tell it here. This only need be said—that it was a fortunate circumstance for Great Britain, that her representative in the beleaguered Legations had already proved himself to be an able soldier before Lord Salisbury turned him into a diplomatist.

done with the Chinese by the exercise of a little tact and kindly feeling. But Bishop Favier has always been on the best of terms with them. He has treated them as considerately as, when occasion called for it, he fought them gallantly.

CHAPTER VIII

Incidents of the March—Characteristics of the Various Troops—and of the Chinese

One thing which had more to do with the success of the relief than perhaps anything else was the unusual absence of rain. Not infrequently, during the summer months, the country between Tientsin and Peking becomes a morass, across which it would have been wellnigh impossible to take heavy guns, but last summer there was hardly any rain at all, and so there was little trouble with the transport. Had the rains been heavy the hardships of the march would have been intensified enormously, and the force might never have got through—not, at least, in time to save the Legations. It certainly would have had great difficulty in doing so had they been as heavy as they were, for instance, in 1890, when nearly the whole of the plain that stretches between Peking and Tientsin was so flooded by the Peiho that it was converted into one immense lake. The troops might, it is true, have been taken up in junks, but the organisation, and keeping together of so vast a flotilla would have been an almost insuperable task.

Nevertheless, the march was a trying one, the

heat being great, and the dust caused by so large a body of men marching over a sandy soil adding to the thirst, which was one of its most trying features. The water, too, was excessively bad, the Peiho being full of dead bodies, as were also not a few of the wells. Orders were issued to our men not to drink it unless boiled and filtered; but all considerations of that kind were lost sight of in the overpowering suffering caused by the long marches in the intense heat, and every well was surrounded by a crowd of exhausted men, too anxious for water to care whether it was pure or not.

The Russians had an excellent band, and the men often cheered their flagging spirits by singing as they marched; one of their songs, commemorating the capture of Widdin by Suwarrow, having a joyous refrain—'For the bayonet is a hero, the bullet is a fool'—which sets one's feet going in spite of physical weariness. At night, too, they always sang their evening hymn before they turned in; though this, and the cross which each of them wore round his neck, did not keep them from doing some terribly cruel things. They get out of hand in the passion of fight, and yet in many of their ways they are a singularly simple and childlike folk, and exceedingly pleasant to watch. In the morning the officers greet their men with 'Good morning, children,' to which they reply with one voice: 'Good morning, your Excellency. We hope your Excellency is happy and well.'

The Japanese also used often to sing at night, weird barbaric choruses that sent the blood tingling through one's veins with the very sensation of conflict. When they charge they break into a quick eager trot, and, as the regiment begins to move, they keep shouting in measured step-time, 'itchi-nih' ('One-two-one-two'). It seems to balance them, to hold them together for the final onset, which they deliver with a wild cry, all together, of fierce exultant passion. The German territorial system, which they have adopted, has been found to work admirably. The men in a regiment all coming from the same district, creates a wholesome spirit of emulation, besides causing them to dread doing anything which may bring them into discredit in their after-life.

The Indian troops had bagpipes, but did not make much use of them; and both the British and the Americans marched doggedly on in silence.

The 1st Bengal Lancers, Skinner's Horse, were raised for service under Lord Lake in 1803. They had to march almost on the very day they landed, after a long and tempestuous voyage from Calcutta, which had brought the horses into poor condition. Nevertheless, on more than one occasion they earned the encomiums of other generals as well as of their own. Captain Browne, with only a handful of sowars, did really excellent work at Ma-Tou, and so did Lieutenant Gaussen in a fight near Tientsin.

On August 17 (says Sir A. Gaselee in his despatch) a small cavalry reconnaissance, consisting of thirty men 1st

Bengal Lancers and about fifty American cavalry, was sent south of Tientsin, supported by a detachment of Madras Sappers and Miners. As the advance party of the cavalry patrol approached within 300 yards of the village of Yaud-Shia-Tsun a large number of Chinese troops suddenly showed themselves, and from the whole line of villages, nearly a mile in length, a heavy but badly aimed fire was opened on them. The cavalry wheeled about and retired rapidly. At this point the horse of one of the American troopers suddenly came down, throwing the rider heavily. The Chinese soldiers dashed out to secure him, when Lieutenant Gaussen, 1st Bengal Lancers, seeing how matters stood, at once rode back in the face of a heavy fire, took the American trooper on his horse, and brought him back into safety. The force then returned to Tientsin. Both Lieutenant-Colonel Wint, 6th U.S. Cavalry, and Major-General Chaffee, commanding the United States forces in Northern China, have brought Lieutenant Gaussen's services on this occasion to my special notice.

They behaved equally well at Liang-Hsian, where they co-operated with a German force; Sir A. Gaselee's account of what took place being as follows:—

A German column under Major-General Von Hoepfner marched out on September 11 to attack Liang-Hsian, about ten miles south of Liukochao; a half-squadron 1st Bengal Lancers and two Maxim guns, Hong-Kong and Singapore Artillery, co-operated, under the command of Captain Griffin, 1st Bengal Lancers. The detachment behaved most creditably, and General Von Hoepfner in his report stated that 'Captain Griffin attacked the Boxers, who made an energetic resistance in the maize fields, several times with great valour. His horse was shot under him in a hand-to-hand combat.' General Von Hoepfner adds that he has submitted Captain Griffin's name for a decoration.

Many exceedingly interesting events took place on the march which have faded from recollection. One courageous act was done in a quiet way which is worth recording. Some of the guns of the Hong-Kong Artillery were being towed up the river in a junk, under the charge of Captain Duff, R.A., with whom were also a couple of officers of the 1st Chinese Regiment. They did not reach Yangtsun until late at night, and about nine o'clock Captain Duff's Chinese servant fell overboard. It was dark, and the Peiho there is deep, with a strong treacherous current, and the boy, who was unable to swim, went down like a stone. Lieutenant Layard, of the Chinese Regiment, at once plunged in after him, and after a long struggle, in which he was in great danger of being drowned himself, managed to pull him out in safety. The next morning the boy came and apologised for having given so much trouble, and begged to be forgiven.

In consequence of marching so late in the day both the British and the Americans suffered terribly from exposure to the sun, which was rendered the more oppressive by an occasional thunderstorm. The temperature, it is true, was nothing like so high as in India, but the heat was quite as trying, even the native troops suffering severely from it. The scene on one or two of the marches was extraordinary, the men falling out by scores—the Americans especially, they being weakened by a long campaign in the Philippines—and having to be brought along in

BRITISH JUNKS BEING TOWED UP THE PEIHO.

PA-LI-CHOU BRIDGE, TWO MILES FROM TUNG-CHOW, WHERE THE BATTLE WAS FOUGHT, IN 1860, FROM WHICH GENERAL MONTAUBAN TOOK HIS TITLE.

the ambulances, and a considerable number died from sunstroke and heat-apoplexy. In the worst march, fortunately, the Peiho was only a few hundred yards from the road, and the men were able to be put on board the junks. The dust was very trying, both to horses and men. On one very hot day the 12th Field Battery lost no less than five horses, and the men marching near the guns were enveloped in a blinding, choking cloud of dust, which made breathing difficult. Water is never very good anywhere in China—it is rather a question of how little bad it is; and in peace time it is carefully boiled before being drunk, even by the Chinese, who never drink anything cold, but drink always either hot tea or hot water. On the march, however, all prudential precautions of that kind were thrown aside, and each wayside well was surrounded by a strange mixture of exhausted men—British soldiers in pith helmets and khaki uniforms, burnt almost copper-red with exposure; Sikhs and Rajpoots and Afghans, with their picturesque turbans and clean-cut swarthy faces; great burly broad-shouldered Russians, in dingy white coats and heavy black boots; natty little Japanese, in white also—white from head to foot, even their gaiters being of white cloth, the only point of colour about them being a broad band of yellow round the little peaked cap; and French in white helmets and blue blouses.

The Japanese, strange to say, suffered from the sun quite as much as any of the Western nations,

owing, probably, to the insufficient protection afforded by their caps; though as they always marched before sunrise they were not exposed to it in the same degree.

Both the Russians and the Japanese lost in several attacks far more than the British who were alongside of them, and exposed to precisely the same fire; the difference in loss being attributed to the conspicuous colour of their uniforms. The Japanese, in consequence, have already decided to put their men into khaki as the service uniform, and to adopt some more suitable form of headgear.

Quite one of the most noticeable features about them is their readiness to discard promptly what they find to be unpractical. Not that there was much in their arrangements to be found fault with; in every department they showed a quite extraordinary power of organisation. And they certainly made the best impression of all the Powers upon the Chinese after the fighting was over. In their quarter of Peking the people flocked back almost at once, shops were opened, and trade began to revive. This was due partly to the humane way in which they habitually acted, and partly to their foresight in seizing not only the silver in the public treasuries, but all the silver they could lay hold of belonging to private banks, and then depositing it with certain of the Chinese bankers, with orders to lend it out to the shopkeepers in small amounts. It was a very clever and successful move. They were the first, too, to organise measures of relief for the numbers of people

who were dying for want of food, and to find for them some kind of employment, for which they were always punctiliously paid.

The Russian transport was simple and effective. They brought with them great numbers of carts drawn by strong shaggy little Siberian horses. One capital feature of it was a portable cooking-machine on wheels, which was kept at work during the whole of the march, and from which during the halts the men, if they wished, were able at any time to get a cup of most excellent soup.[1]

Their commissariat was frugal in the extreme, their supplies consisting almost entirely of rye bread and tea, supplemented by whatever they could pick up as they went along; for they are excellent foragers, living virtually on the country they pass through. This makes them very mobile, ready to move at a moment's notice, and without any fuss. The Japanese transport, by the way, was also admirable, but it too was best suited for a flat country. Their animals, moreover, were not rested enough, and as the result many died. They are not strong, and are very vicious, and they were a great nuisance in the narrow roads. One of their officers told me that the Government has been introducing foreign blood for some time past from different countries, and that they hope

[1] It is a cylinder with a tube running through it, and the contents are heated in the same way as in a tubular boiler. But though well adapted for a flat country, it would be utterly useless for campaigning in a hilly region like the Himalayan frontier of India, where horse and mule transport is difficult to obtain, and the roads are bad.

before long to have a hardier and more reliable animal. Their commissariat is almost as simple as that of the Russians, consisting mainly of rice, raisins, dried fish, and a kind of sauce. But the rice is troublesome at the end of a march; it takes so long to prepare. Formerly no meat was given, the Japanese as a race not being meat eaters; then it was found to be necessary to keep the men in condition when they were doing hard work, so now it is served out several times a week. It does not matter which is selected, it will be found that their administrative ability in every department of their service is really quite wonderful. Their hospitals especially were the admiration of the whole force. But their foresight and attention to detail were apparent in everything they undertook. For instance, they brought with them from Japan steam-lighters and shallow vessels adapted for the Taku bar, search-lights, sampans, and coolies; so that they were able to embark and disembark their troops with great expedition. Both the American transport and their commissariat were also good, although the general criticism was that the rations were rather too profuse, and that many things were provided which were really luxuries. The British transport was mostly pack mule transport, thus enabling the British supplies to be got up with great expedition. And the large number of camp followers, always attending an Indian army, proved at first to be invaluable in unloading the ships at Taku, when the Chinese coolies had all fled: afterwards they were rather

in the way. About the British commissariat (under Lieut.-Colonel Bond, Major Koe, Captain Vaughan, and Captain Geoghegan) there was only one opinion: it was both efficient and sufficient. There was not a single day on which short rations had to be served out, and their quality was excellent; there were no complaints of bad food. Taken altogether, considering the difficulties to be surmounted, the length of the voyage from Calcutta, and the speed with which the expedition had to be started, the Indian Commissariat Department scored, indeed, a veritable success. And when in China the officers made the most of the local means at their disposal. They paid the Chinese they employed regularly and well, and got good work out of them in return. In Peking each of the native regiments took over a Chinese miller's shop, and under regimental supervision the Chinese millers made fresh flour for the troops daily; though the Indian troops, contrary to general expectation, gave little trouble about their food. They ate the Chinese food freely, and bought large quantities of fruit whenever it was available. Both they and the British troops were wisely given an extra ration, both of tea and of sugar, to make the water more palatable, and to induce the men to boil it. This probably accounted for the small amount of enteric, their health being remarkably good both in the summer and in the winter.

With regard to the Chinese, the general military opinion was that, although they did not make much

of a fight when hard pressed, they have, nevertheless, shown a decided advance in military knowledge since the Japanese war, and that under European guidance there is no reason why they should not attain to a very considerable amount of military skill. So accurate was the fire of some of their guns at Tientsin that reports were current at the time, quite, as it now appears, without foundation, that they were worked by renegade European gunners in the Chinese service. No such explanation was necessary, the Chinese being remarkably quick in acquiring any science that requires dexterity of hand or eye.

In the Country Club at Shanghai, the lawn-tennis professional is a Chinaman, and among the best bowlers at the cricket nets are the Chinese cricket professionals. So, too, although, taken as a whole, their gunnery was very deficient, the accuracy of their aim at Tientsin was sometimes quite astounding. The distances being great, with intervening houses to intercept the view, both sides had to resort to indirect fire by directions given from a tower, either by a telephone wire laid to the guns, or by flag-signalling; the Allies using the tower of the Gordon Hall, the Chinese one of the towers in the City Yamën. Many of the Chinese shells, however, fell quite close to the British batteries, and on one occasion one of the guns was hit, the gunner killed, and the gun itself rendered useless. That the Chinese, merely owing to the possession of modern rifles and artillery, should have been able to hold the Powers at bay so

long gives much food for reflection. Our recent wars on the Himalayan frontier have all been against badly armed hill tribes. It will be a very different kind of struggle if we ever come again to a war with Afghanistan, for the late Amir called into being a well-disciplined and well-munitioned army, and, moreover, he furnished himself with a liberal supply of heavy artillery. The difficulty experienced in subduing the Chinese, and the long continuance of the South African war, and of the war in the Philippines, arouse a hope that some check will be placed upon the dreams of the aggressive school of Indian politicians.

It is believed, indeed, that during the fortnight preceding the attack on the city of Tientsin there were in it only 5,000 Chinese regular troops; yet their fire was so excellent that they held at bay 12,000 of the Allies until the British naval 25-pounders, firing lyddite, were brought up from the ships at Taku.

Utterly without a transport, commissariat, or medical service, ill trained as they are, badly led, and on the whole badly armed—for in spite of the numerous arsenals the majority of the Boxers were only armed with swords and knives—the Chinese have shown conclusively that Lord Charles Beresford's estimate of them was just:—

> From all I have heard and seen I believe they would make splendid soldiers if properly trained, and if fed, paid, and clothed according to their contract with the authorities. They have all the characteristics necessary to make a

good soldier. They are sober, obedient, easily managed, and very quick at learning.

All they want is a leader in whom they can trust. The Wei-hai-Wei Regiment has shown what can be made of them under European officers, for they behaved admirably both under shell and rifle fire, and their discipline was excellent. It was a merciful circumstance that Yuan-Shih-Kai's army was never allowed to operate against Tientsin. It is a thoroughly equipped, compact, and well-drilled force, and had it been brought against the foreign settlements at any time before the native city was taken the result of the campaign might have been vastly different. The Europeans in the north of China are, indeed, under the deepest possible obligation to Yuan-Shih-Kai, and it will be more than hard if, after all he has done, the Germans should be allowed to interfere with the province of Shantung, of which he is the Governor. It is there that they have their port of Kiao-Chau, and they have always asserted that it is exclusively within their sphere of interest. They will not find its subjugation an easy task, should they be ill-advised enough to attempt it.

The Chinese troops are vastly different even now from the undisciplined hordes which were opposed to the Allied troops in 1860. They were so inefficient that a distinguished French officer gave it as his deliberate opinion that two regiments of cavalry could make their way right through China. They are not

[1] *Break-up of China*, p. 283.

capable of much cohesion yet, but the stand they made in Tientsin, and that they are still making against the Russians in Manchuria, shows that there is grit in them, and that with scientific training they will prove themselves to be quite as good soldiers as the Japanese. That is the opinion of most soldiers who have had practical experience of them.

The Abbé Huc relates a conversation he had with a Tartar in Mongolia, which shows how extraordinarily behindhand the Chinese were in everything that pertained to military science only fifty years ago; what tremendous headway they have had to make up to get at all upon a level with the Western nations—a fact that must be taken into account when estimating their military value in the future:—

During our modest repast we noticed that one of these Tartars was the object of a special attention on the part of his comrade. We asked him what military grade he occupied in the Blue Banner. 'When the banners of Tchakar marched two years ago against the Rebels of the South (the English then at war against the Chinese were designated by the Tartars the rebels of the South), I held the rank of Tchouada.' 'Were all the banners of Tchakar called together in the Southern war?' 'Yes, all; at first it was thought a small matter, and every one said that it would never affect the Tchakar. The troops of Kitat went first, but they did nothing; the banners of Solon also marched, but they could not bear the heat of the South. Then the Emperor sent us his sacred order. Each man selected his best horse, removed the dust from his bow and quiver, and scraped the rust from his lance. In every tent a sheep was killed for the feast of departure. Women and children wept, but we addressed to them the words of reason. Here, said

we, for six generations have we received the benefits of the Sacred Master, and he has asked from us nothing in return. Now that he has need of us, can we hold back? The sacred ordinance reached us at sunrise; the same day we marched to Peking; from Peking they led us to Tien-Tsin-Vei, where we remained for three months.' 'Did you fight?' asked Samdadchiemba; 'did you see the enemy?' 'No, they did not dare to appear. The Kitat told us everywhere that we were marching upon certain and unavailing death. What can you do, asked they, against sea monsters? They live in the water like fish. When you least expect them they appear on the surface, and hurl their fire-bombs at you; while the instant your bow is bent to shoot them down they dive like frogs. Thus they essayed to frighten us, but we soldiers of the eight banners knew not fear. Before our departure the great Lamas had sent to each Tchouada a Lama learned in medicine and skilled in all the sacred auguries, who was to cure all the soldiers under him of the diseases of the climate, and to protect us from the magic of the sea-monsters. What, then, have we to fear? The rebels, hearing that the invincible troops of Tchakar were approaching, were seized with fear, and bought peace. The Sacred Master of his immense mercy granted it, and we returned to the care of our flocks.'

It is absurd to say that the Chinese have no patriotism. They have shown over and over again that when roused they possess it in a very high degree; that they are just as ready as any of ourselves to lay down their lives in defence of what they hold dear. When the final attack was made on the Pei-Yang Arsenal at Tientsin, and the Chinese troops slipped out at the rear without waiting for the assault, one of the gunners refused to leave his gun, and was

PRINCE TUAN SITTING IN JUDGMENT ON RUSSIAN AND JAPANESE SOLDIERS, WHOSE EXECUTION IS DEPICTED IN THE OPPOSITE CORNER (Reproduction from coloured print.)

bayoneted, fighting to the last; and instances of a similar desperate bravery were by no means rare.[1]

Courage they have, and of a high quality; but for centuries they have regarded force as a less desirable method of persuasion than an appeal to reason, and in consequence the soldier has been despised in proportion as the scholar has been honoured. Now they are beginning to understand how true is 'Faites-vous une brebis et les loups vous mangeront,' and that force can only be met effectually by force. When they have learnt that lesson thoroughly they will have become truly formidable antagonists.

[1] Sir Claude Macdonald, in his despatch of August 14, tells a story of a Chinese soldier who refused to accept any reward from Colonel Shiba, the Japanese Commandant in Peking, which shows a patriotism of a different but of quite as high a character. He had conveyed a letter from Colonel Shiba to Tientsin for a stipulated sum of 250 dollars, and brought back an answer, but refused to accept payment. 'Thinking that perhaps he was unwilling to be discovered in possession of so large a sum, he was offered a letter to the Consul at Tientsin in the form of a promissory note, but he declined everything. On being asked why he refused now, when he had been previously so keen to acquire the money, he told Colonel Shiba that on arrival at Tientsin, after delivery of the letter, and receiving the answer, he went to his own home. His mother did all she could to prevent his returning to Peking, but he said he had promised the foreign officer to return, and return he must. "Then," said she, "you must accept no money, for what you are doing is for the good of your country." He therefore, in obedience to his mother's wishes, steadfastly refused any money whatever. He offered to take a letter back to Tientsin if it was written at once, but he could not, he said, bring an answer. Seeing that it was impossible to shake the man's resolution, Colonel Shiba wrote another letter, which the messenger duly delivered at the Consulate at Tientsin, but again refused all offers of money.'

CHAPTER IX

Inhuman Treatment of the Chinese—Value of the Indian Army as an Imperial Factor—Contrast with South Africa

One question there is which, unhappily, cannot be glossed over: the treatment of the non-combatant Chinese. Directly the Taku Forts were taken the Russians began to lay waste the surrounding country, to burn the villages, and to butcher the inhabitants. The reports that were circulated of the massacre of the Legations, with every detail of horror, produced a kind of frenzy, in which all sense of right and wrong was obliterated, leaving only a blind desire for vengeance and slaughter. One awful example of the kind of thing that was done will suffice. When the Forts were captured a lighter filled with some 200 Chinese coolies, in the employment of the Taku Tug and Lighter Company, was lying outside the bar. On the following morning, when they tried to enter the Peiho to get food and water, they stuck fast on the mudbank underneath the South Fort, which was then held by the Russians, and were shelled, the fire being kept up until the lighter was sunk and every man destroyed.

These were harmless, unarmed coolies, in the

employment of a British company. They were killed simply because they were Chinese.

The mad lust for blood which prevailed all through the campaign, and the brutal deeds done in Peking, Tientsin, and all along the line of march, aroused feelings of the most intense pity and indignation, and many men who started for Peking burning to inflict the severest punishment upon the actual originators of the outbreak, when they reached that city had lost all desire for vengeance, sickened by the cruelties inflicted upon the guiltless and ignorant peasantry.

And *nothing*, no amount of provocation, can excuse the terrible treatment of the Chinese women and children by certain of the Allied troops.

Peking after the assault was a sight not soon to be forgotten. Every Chinaman who could do so had fled, and for the first few days the city was a regular Golgotha, an abomination of desolation; the dead lying on every side, no man caring to bury them; the bodies left where they lay for the dogs to devour.

At last the conditions became such that in order to prevent the outbreak of a dangerous epidemic the streets were cleared. At that time few cared how much the Chinese suffered; though even then there were one or two men, notably Sir Robert Hart and Colonel Shiba, who tried to procure for them fair treatment. Dr. Morrison, too, deserves unbounded gratitude for his fearless and indignant protests

against the long continuance of the devastation to which the country was subjected.

It would be invidious to discriminate between the varying responsibilities of the Powers, but the claim of China against Christendom as a whole cannot be disregarded.

Our own troops, it is satisfactory to record, although they looted like every one else, had no share in any worse excesses—neither the British troops nor the Indian. There were only two cases altogether of court-martial upon native soldiers for serious offences, and none upon British.

In a question of this kind it is always well, however, to adduce independent testimony. The Japan 'Daily Mail' of November 10, 1900, thus sums up the criticism upon the Allied troops of Mr. Taguchi Ukichi, a member of the Japanese House of Representatives:—

> With regard to the Indian soldiers, he alleges that their one fault was a disposition to commit petty larceny whenever opportunity presented itself. For the British officers he has only praise; they were beyond criticism. The American troops, however, seem to have elicited his warmest approbation. He praises them from every point of view. Mr. Taguchi Ukichi further says that his experiences in China have reconciled him to the conscription system in Japan. Much of the ferocity and callous cruelty displayed by the Russians is due, in his opinion, to the fact that they are professional soldiers; like the Samurai of old, they have lost their bowels of mercy. The conscript, on the contrary, has not time to get demoralised by military service. As for the Japanese, Mr. Taguchi claims that their discipline and orderliness were excellent, but it is

absurd, he says, to allege that they did not take their share of the spoils. The difference was that the individual Japanese soldier never looted on his own account. They worked in bodies, securing the booty for the public account. At Tung-Chow they captured the rice granaries and quickly appropriated the contents. At Peking they went straight for the Treasury, and carried off from two to three million taels worth of sycee, loading the silver on horses, and transporting it to the Japanese Legation.

The conduct of the Indian troops is the more noteworthy because in the campaign of 1860 no less than six British infantry regiments were engaged, five batteries of artillery, and one regiment of British cavalry; whereas in the recent operations the only British troops were the 12th Field Battery and a portion of the Welsh Fusiliers. The force was composed essentially of Indian troops, and it has been hotly urged by various critics that Great Britain has lost prestige in consequence. But is not this an entirely wrong deduction? In our future military system the Indian Army must play an increasingly important part, and it is a matter of Imperial satisfaction that our native troops should have worked side by side with so many foreign armies, and should have displayed not only a courage, but a soldierly discipline and restraint, and a dignity of bearing, which filled with pride all who had ever had any connection with India. The rise of Japan as a military Power has attracted universal attention, but little heed has been paid to the fact that for the first time in its history the Indian Army has acted

outside British India, practically by itself, and not in conjunction with British troops, and has demonstrated in the most effectual way its value, not only as a defence to India, but as a factor of the first importance, to be reckoned with in our future wars all over the world.

It should be mentioned in justice to the Russians that the bulk of their troops were drawn from Eastern Siberia, and were composed of men who, for the most part, had not been more than one generation under Russian rule. Their parents were unable to speak Russian, and the men themselves could only speak it with difficulty—a fact that points to the extreme danger of allowing Russia to acquire control of the soldier populations of Manchuria and Mongolia, as well as of Chinese Tartary. These men's method of making war was as barbarous as that of the Chinese, and in the early days of the campaign they were allowed to do pretty well as they pleased. But when once Peking was taken, after the first few days of license were over, the Russian officers extended protection to the Chinese officials in their section of the city, and did what they could to enforce discipline. The French also rapidly restored order, and sternly repressed the outrages which stained their earlier work. Their peaceful occupation of Paoting-fu saved it from sharing the fate of Peking, and of Tung-Chow, to the openly expressed anger of many, who were still intent upon bloodshed and rapine.

The troops were, as I have said, inflamed by

violent articles in the press, and by lying reports of the massacre of the people in the Legations, much in the same way that all Europe is now inflamed by lying descriptions of British action in South Africa. Accounts were published in the European papers, and received in Tientsin before the march to Peking began, in which the dying agonies of European women and children were depicted with a circumstantial detail which almost compelled belief.

It was thought, moreover, that the Chinese Government was, as a whole, implicated in the uprising, and in the brutalities which attended it; instead of which it is every day becoming more apparent that the Emperor, Kwang-Su, and those of the Court who supported him in his efforts for reform, have been the victims of a conspiracy, from which they have suffered even more than the foreigners.

In addition to the thirst for blood, there was a longing for plunder, due in great measure to the recollection of the rich booty obtained in 1860 from the Summer Palace. This longing infected all the troops alike, and became so ungovernable that several of the houses of the foreign residents in Tientsin were completely gutted. If it was difficult to protect the Europeans, it was impossible to protect the Chinese, and little effort was made to do so. They were plundered remorselessly. No compensation is possible for the thousands of innocent people who have been ruined, but there is a judicial aspect of the matter, which ought surely to have been taken

into account when the amount of the indemnities to be paid by China was under consideration.

By the Hague Convention, to which China was a party, it is expressly provided as follows:—

Article XLVI.—Family honours and rights, individual lives and private property, as well as religious convictions and liberty, must be respected. Private property cannot be confiscated.

Article XLVII.—Pillage is formally prohibited.

The Allied Powers, in their failure to restrain illegal pillage, and wholesale destruction of private property, have committed a most flagrant breach of international law as definitely settled by themselves only a few months before, and an agreed sum in respect of the loss they have thereby inflicted upon China ought surely to have been deducted from the amount of the indemnities they themselves claimed.

And some definite understanding should also be come to with regard to the systematic laying waste of a country; whether it is, or is not, in the future to be a recognised operation of war. The Japan 'Daily Mail,' which has throughout taken the broadest and most statesmanlike view of the situation, made the following earnest protest against what, alas! was the usual course pursued all through the North China campaign. It is in its issue of November 3, 1900:—

The Germans in Shantung, according to telegrams in the Tokio journals, sent some troops to Kao-mi, where a party of Boxers had established themselves, and after a fight in which the Germans had one killed and seven

wounded, and the Chinese 250 killed, captured two villages and burned them, after clearing out the inhabitants. The 'Jiji Shimpo' says that Governor Yuan approved of these doings, but the Chino's correspondent alleged that the presence of Boxers was only a pretext. We find difficulty in imagining why the Germans should seek any pretext for taking such a step. They doubtless had excellent reasons for believing that unless Kao-mi was freed from the presence of Boxers trouble would ensue. It must be confessed, however, that this burning of villages, to which all the Allied commanding officers resort, British not excepted, seems a terribly cruel method of procedure. Probably in the two villages at Kao-mi there were not half a dozen inhabitants who sympathised with the Boxers. Indeed, all testimony goes to show that the Boxers are far from being popular, and that their treatment of peaceable citizens is very brutal. On the other hand, the people are unable to resist them. If they come to a village to establish themselves there, what can the inhabitants do to drive them out? Yet on the arrival of foreign troops the village is burned to the ground, and hundreds of women, children, and old people are rendered homeless on the verge of winter. It seems a most inhuman procedure. We know that the Germans merely act in this matter as the rest of the Allies act. But is it necessary? Must we earn new execrations from the Chinese by all our acts?

Nearly the whole of the province of Chih-li has been devastated, the villages on or near the line of march have been destroyed entirely, and a great portion of the more important cities. Immense areas in Peking are in ruins; about a third of Tien-tsin, in which there were over three-quarters of a million people, has been burnt; in Tung-Chow, a walled town of 80,000 inhabitants, hardly a house

has been left untouched; Chang-Chia-Wan, a prosperous little place of some ten thousand people, has virtually ceased to exist. And in China no attempt was made by the Allies to mitigate the sufferings of the homeless thousands by forming concentration camps, as has been mercifully done in South Africa. Those who were not killed were merely left to starve, or to be frozen to death. Indeed, in every way the campaign in South Africa has been in striking contrast to that in China, and shows an honest endeavour on the part of the British commanders to act up to the spirit, if not to the letter, of the Hague Convention, although the Boers were not a party to it, as the Chinese were; and it shows, also, a distinct advance upon the heretofore recognised usage of war. For instance, to give one example only out of many that might be adduced: Section 63 of the American Instructions for War, issued in 1898, expressly provides that 'troops that fight in the uniform of their enemies, without any plain, striking, and uniform mark of distinction of their own, can expect no quarter.'

Now in China quarter was seldom given (there may have been a few exceptional cases, but it was not the rule), whereas in South Africa it has been accorded, many may think with a mistaken leniency, even when the Boers have deliberately adopted the British uniform. It is a bitter irony that the British troops, who have acted with a humanity and consideration seldom known in previous wars, should be

held up to obloquy in the way they now are; and the irony becomes the more bitter when the terrible deeds are recalled (in which the British troops had no part) committed by the troops of those very nations who are now their most vehement accusers.

'Sweep the snow from your own doorstep,' says a Chinese proverb, 'and do not trouble yourself about the frost on your neighbour's tiles.'

CHAPTER X

Results of the Sack of Tientsin—Policy and Position of the Different Powers

Outside China the popular imagination is mostly concentrated on Canton and Shanghai, and the importance of Tientsin as a trade centre does not seem to have been fully recognised, nor the extent of the damage caused to British interests in Northern China by the treatment to which it has been subjected. Standing as it does at the point of junction of the Peiho River with the Yun Ho, or Grand Canal, the Lutai Canal, and five other smaller streams and canals, it is not only the port of Peking, but practically the sole trade outlet for the whole of the north-western provinces of China. In population it is only just under a million, and in commercial importance it ranks next to Shanghai, the total value of its trade in 1898 amounting to 63,064,162 taels (about 9,000,000*l.*), whilst that of Canton was only 49,554,973 taels. The native city is enclosed in strongly built walls, and lies some two miles further up the river than the foreign settlements, which are four in number—British, French, German, and Japanese; taken in order of their relative importance, and of

the dates on which they were established, the Japanese settlement being only founded in 1897, in fulfilment of a provision in the Treaty of Shimonoseki. To these a fifth has now been added, the Russians within the last few months having been granted a site on the opposite side of the river.

To Tientsin came the piece-goods of Europe, the sugar, the salt, and the tribute rice of the Southern Provinces; whilst through it passed also the vast export trade from the interior, the wool and furs of Manchuria and Mongolia, the brick teas of Hankow, and the ground-nuts and bristles of Chih-li and Shansi. The accumulated wealth of the city was very great, and the foreign trade was every year becoming of increasing value. (During the bombardment a godown was set on fire by one of the Chinese shells, and furs were destroyed to the value, it was computed, of at least 20,000*l.*) It would have increased still more rapidly but for the decrease in volume of the water in the Peiho, which of late years has been very marked. It is not a large river—about the size of the Thames at Richmond—but it used to be deep, and with a rapid current, and large ocean-going steamers were able to come right up to the settlements to unload. Now, owing to the diminution of water caused by the extensive canal and irrigation works, which have been started during the last few years, large vessels are obliged to remain outside the bar at Taku, thirteen miles out to sea, and comparatively small vessels

can only come as far as Tong-ku, three miles up from the river mouth.

A scheme had however been sanctioned which it was believed would render the river again navigable; and in any case the railway had done much to minimise the prejudicial effects that might otherwise have been caused by its change in depth, so in spite of it every year the trade of Tientsin was growing in importance. It is principally British and German, though in the French Yellow Book published in October 1901 it is stated that there are now fourteen French commercial houses in Tientsin, with a total capital of the value of 1,300,000 francs, and that the property owned there by them, by the Jesuit and Lazarist missionaries, and other French subjects, amounts to 930,000 francs, giving altogether a total capital of 2,230,000 francs.

As soon as it became known that the Allied generals had decided upon the bombardment of the city, urgent representations were made to them, by the leading merchants of all the different nationalities, of the ruinous effect upon its future if any extensive destruction were permitted, beyond that required by actual military necessity, and the friendly Viceroys of Nanking and Wuchang despatched the following telegram to Washington:—

If Tientsin City should be destroyed it would be difficult to restore same in a hundred years. Request the Powers to preserve it, as consequences would affect Chinese and foreign commerce.

This telegram was forwarded at once by Adjutant-General Corbin to the commanding officer of the 9th Infantry, in command of the American troops in Tientsin; but it could only be sent to the care of the American Consul at Chefoo, the nearest point with which telegraphic communication had been maintained. General Corbin also added:—

The President directs me to say that nothing but military necessity would justify the destruction of the city, and he hopes that no such necessity may arise.

Unfortunately this telegram did not reach Tientsin until July 21, on which date Colonel Coolidge telegraphed in reply:—

Message regarding destruction Tientsin received. Tientsin captured July 14. Considerably damaged by fire and bombardment. Meade, senior officer, will present President's instructions.

Both the bombardment of the city, and its subsequent capture by assault, were undoubtedly military necessities, the safety not only of the Legations, but of every foreigner in the interior of China, depending upon an immediate advance to Peking, which could not be thought of whilst Tientsin remained unsubdued, and a menace in the rear. Moreover, its capture did much to strengthen the position of the beleaguered Legations. Sir Claude Macdonald in his despatch emphasises this particularly:—

Fortunately, on the 14th inst. (he writes) Tientsin was taken by the Allies. This produced a marked effect on the

besiegers, and the besieged received nearly twenty days' respite, which enabled them to materially strengthen their defences and recuperate generally, so that the final attacks of the enemy were repulsed with ease.

But for the wholesale looting, and wanton destruction, that took place afterwards, there was no justification whatever. It could have been, and ought to have been, in great measure prevented, if the minds of those in authority had been less set upon vengeance, and more upon the ultimate welfare of China. In the Japanese quarter it was much less than in those assigned to the other Powers—a humiliating circumstance, but one that cannot be controverted.

The whole of the American War Office correspondence is interesting, and typical of the exceedingly sane and moderate attitude America has adopted throughout.

General Corbin, in his instructions to General Chaffee dated July 19, defines the views of the United States Government with great precision. He says :—

It is the desire of the Government to maintain its relations with the part of the Chinese people and Chinese officials not concerned in outrages on Americans. Among these we consider Li Hung Chang, just appointed Viceroy of Chih-li. You will to the extent of your power aid the Government of China, or any part thereof, in repressing such outrages and in rescuing Americans, and in protecting American citizens and interests; and whenever Chinese Government fails to render such protection you will do all in your power to supply it.

And when the news of the capture of Tientsin reached America, Mr. Root, the Secretary of War, caused the following telegram to be sent at once, on July 21, to United States Consul Fowler at Chefoo :—

Send following cablegram to Coolidge, commanding United States forces, Tientsin :—Reported here extensive looting in Tientsin ; report immediately whether American troops took part. If so, punish severely, repress sternly. Absolute regard for life and property of non-combatants enjoined.

As it happened there was a vast amount of wealth in the suburb leading from the French Concession to the East Gate, in which many of the richer merchants lived, and this suburb suffered comparatively little. Of the city itself almost one-third was reduced to ashes, and the remainder was continuously and unsparingly plundered. Not only was the Government treasure appropriated, the private hoards of the bankers and merchants for the most part shared the same fate. So great was the spoliation that it will take years for trade even partially to revive, and for the time being it is utterly paralysed. When I passed through, towards the end of October, the native banks had not even then begun to operate. The outlook for the merchants, both foreign and Chinese, is discouraging in the extreme. The trade with the interior has come to an absolute standstill, and it must be two years at the very least before it can start afresh, and then under the most disad-

vantageous conditions. Many of the merchants, indeed, think that it will never all come back—that, though the situation and natural advantages of Tientsin will always make it an important place, it will never again enjoy the pre-eminent position it held before; that the greater portion of its trade will be permanently diverted to other ports—to Shan-Hai-Kwan, or Chefoo, or Kiao-Chau.

If this prediction should prove to be accurate, on whom will the loss chiefly fall? On the British mainly, who have had by far the largest proportion of the trade; but to a certain extent on France and on Japan, and on all the Continental nations who have trade relations with China, with the one exception of Russia, to whom the curtailing of the prosperity of Tientsin will be a direct and positive benefit. Her trade with that city has been small, and could advantageously be shifted elsewhere. The Russo-Chinese Bank has, it is true, a branch agency, but there are altogether only four Russian firms in Tientsin, and they deal chiefly in tea and wool; and when the Peking-Hankow line has been completed the tea will be shipped direct from Hankow, and will no longer pass through Tientsin, and the wool will be diverted by one or other of the branch lines which are either in contemplation or in course of construction. The direct benefit that will accrue to Russia is not difficult to foresee. The Japanese have always understood what she has in contemplation. As Count Okuma said not long ago, 'The greater the

chaos in China the greater would be the chance for Russia to further her designs.' What are those designs? They are plain enough. In Talienwan Bay, at the terminus of the Manchurian railway, forty miles south of Port Arthur, she is pushing hurriedly on with the erection of her new commercial town of Dalny, which, she confidently anticipates, will become the Chicago of her Eastern dominions. It is there that she hopes to draw down the trade of Manchuria, which at present passes through Newchwang and Tientsin, and the present state of affairs in Chih-li will give her the means to do so in a way that nothing else could have done.

This is not a fanciful or far-fetched supposition. It is a danger which has long been apprehended by the foreign residents in both these ports. It has only been heightened by recent events. Lord Charles Beresford had it clearly explained to him when he was in Tientsin :—

> The heavy trade (he says) in wool, skin, hides, furs, and bristles, &c., comes principally from Lanchau, on the borders of Thibet, and Hsi-ning, further north-east. These goods come right up the Yellow River, and through the passes Khaupingkhau and Nankhou. Both these are dominated from Peking. There is no other pass for hundreds of miles to the south of these two. The whole of the trade named, which now comes through these passes to Tientsin, could be diverted to the north by any Power dominant in Peking.[1]

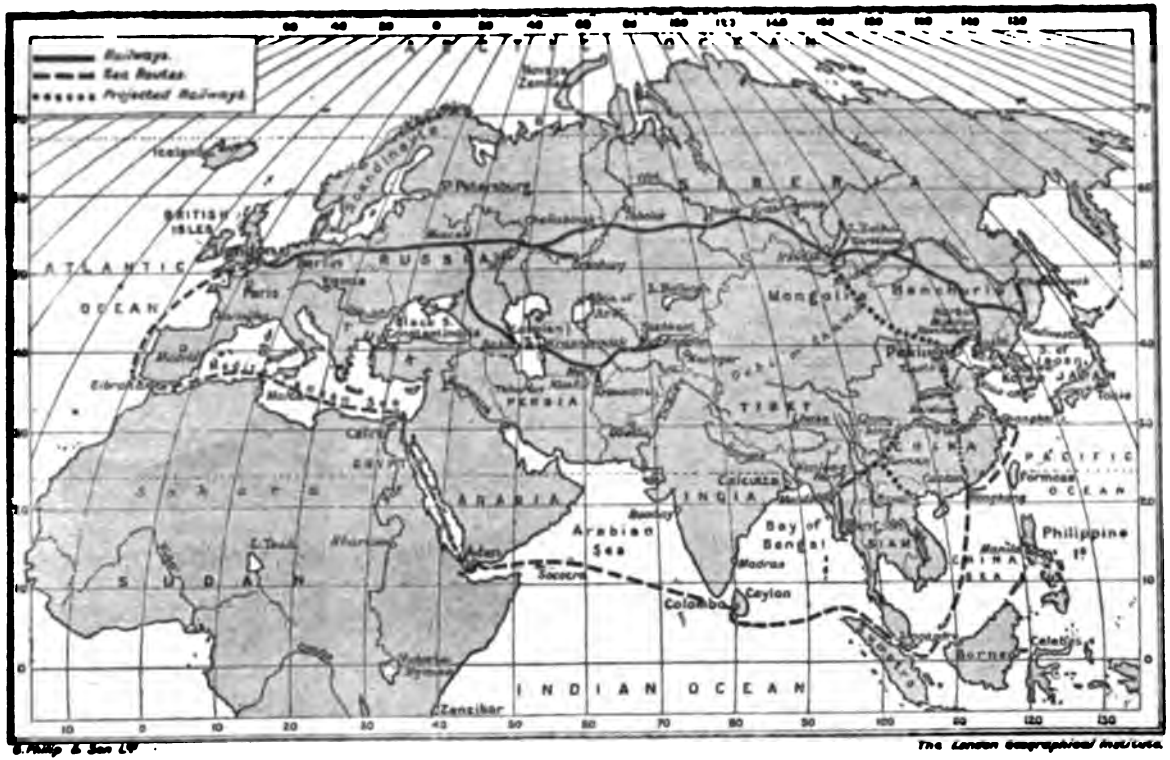
In Newchwang the merchants were equally

[1] *The Break-up of China*, p. 27.

anxious. They pointed out that there are only two doors to the sea for importing trade into Manchuria, one being Newchwang and the other Talienwan; that the line from Mukden to Talienwan passes seventeen miles to the back of Newchwang, and that the whole of the Manchurian trade can at once be diverted from Newchwang to Talienwan when the railway is complete. The present situation in Manchuria gives prophetic value to Lord Charles Beresford's observations. The opportunity Russia has waited for has come, and Manchuria is practically in her hands, whilst Tientsin and Newchwang have been crippled and enfeebled for years. The railway, too, from Tientsin, both to Peking and to Shan-Hai-Kwan, has been terribly damaged, and much of the rolling-stock appropriated by the Russians; and beyond the Great Wall, from Shan-Hai-Kwan to Newchwang, it has been placed entirely under their control. A more favourable moment for the opening of her new port could not well be imagined. It is safe to predict that before many years it will have eclipsed Newchwang, and more than rivalled Tientsin.

The damage to Newchwang (which has also been partially looted) will affect the Japanese even more seriously than ourselves, their trade with Manchuria having developed enormously during the last three years. Consul Fulford in his recent report says:—

> The growth of the direct trade of the port with Japan is remarkable both in exports to and imports from Japan. The figures for the latter were 258,600*l.* in 1899, against



MAP SHOWING THE TRANS-SIBERIAN RAILWAY IN COMPARISON WITH OTHER ROUTES TO THE EAST.

84,555*l.* in 1898. The total net exports in 1899 were of the value of 3,092,362*l.*, against 2,462,611*l.* in 1898. Of this amount 1,303,685*l.* went to foreign countries and 1,788,677*l.* to other Chinese ports. Of the exports to foreign countries, goods to the value of 1,213,769*l.* went to Japan. In tonnage English ships led, but Japan is first in actual number of vessels. Her trade with Manchuria is rapidly assuming very large proportions, nearly one half of the exports, principally bean-cake and beans from Newchwang, going to that country, whilst Japanese manufactured goods are finding a ready market in Newchwang.

How valuable the trade with Manchuria is, and what a mine of wealth lies in its undeveloped resources, may be gauged by the extraordinary rise in the trade of this port during the last few years. In 1898 its net value was only 4,634,474*l.*, whilst in 1899 it had increased to 7,253,643*l.* The more reason why Russia should endeavour to secure it for Dalny.

The damage has been done, and it is too late now to remedy it. All that we can do is to unite with Japan and America (for America has a considerable trade with Manchuria) to obtain from Russia an undertaking that not only shall Newchwang and Dalny both be free ports, but that there shall be free and unrestricted trade access to the whole of the interior of the province. Even so the prospect for foreign trade other than Russian is not hopeful. Russia may promise, but how is she to be compelled to keep to her undertaking any longer than it may suit her? Vladivostock was originally a free port;

last year it was definitely closed, and so before long, it may be feared, will the door be closed in Manchuria. The only trade outlet for it not absolutely now in Russian hands is Tientsin, and that we have helped to destroy. Worse still, our acquiescence in the German policy of vengeance has alienated from us both America and Japan, and has made co-operation with them difficult. It has thrown them, against their own interests, into co-operation with Russia. The Japanese 'Weekly Gazette' of October 22, 1900, wrote thus of the Anglo-German agreement:—

> Therefore, unless Russia evacuates Manchuria, England and Germany will consider what other part of China they shall seize on as compensation. Of course Russia will not evacuate Manchuria. That country is already practically a Russian province, and it is not reasonable to suppose that, having fought and worked for it, she will quietly surrender her prey. If she declines Germany will be free to do as she likes in Shantung and England in the Yangtze region. That is apparently the real meaning of the compact, though we shall have to wait further details to be quite sure. What will Japan say to this? She has understood Great Britain's policy all along to be in favour of the maintenance of Chinese integrity, and therefore, broadly speaking, in line with her own. Is she now to be left completely in the cold?

And America has dissented even more strongly than Japan from the German scheme of policy, and from the vengeful way in which it has been carried out.

But although Russia is the only Power which will profit by a continuance of the state of chaos into

which the north of China has been plunged, it is not she who has been primarily responsible for it. She has consistently urged the adoption of conciliatory methods, so as to obtain as early as possible the re-establishment in Peking of some recognised form of government. Her policy since the relief of the Legations has been far-sighted, considerate, and humane. Our own despatches prove that conclusively. There is no need to look anywhere else. Sir C. Scott on August 30 wrote to Lord Salisbury as follows:—

> Count Lamsdorff went on to develop very clearly his own personal view of the best position for the Allied forces to take up at the present conjuncture. It has been urged on his consideration that an immediate evacuation of Peking by the Allied forces would be interpreted by the Chinese as a triumph for them, and would be followed by a fresh rising, disorder and massacres, and a consequent loss of foreign prestige. He had weighed this consideration very carefully, but was still firmly convinced that the continued presence of our troops in the capital, after the release and safe conduct of our Legations and the Europeans to the coast, would be fraught with even more disastrous consequences. . . . His Excellency dreaded the possibility of the foreign troops there getting out of hand, and yielding to the temptations of pillage and other acts of violence.[1]

And on September 5 Sir C. Scott again wrote to Lord Salisbury in the same strain:—

> Count Lamsdorff said that he had carefully weighed the considerations urged on his attention by the American and other Governments, who apprehended the possibility of

[1] *China*, No. 1 (1901), p. 143.

serious consequences and a misapprehension of motive in the withdrawal of the Allied forces now occupying Peking. The objections urged to evacuation at the present moment would, in His Excellency's opinion, apply with equal force to an evacuation at any later date, and, if acted on, might entail the occupation for several years of Peking by an international force. His Excellency went over again the arguments which he had used at our last interview, reported in my despatch of the 30th ultimo. He repeated his firm conviction that the Emperor of China and the recognised Government would never return to the capital while it was occupied by foreign troops. The Emperor and Court were confidently reported to be out of reach, in the province of Shansi, and to be still entirely under the baneful influence of Prince Tuan, who had accompanied them. Under such circumstances, negotiations with them, or with a duly accredited plenipotentiary of the recognised Government, were impossible. The only way to get a legitimate Government back to Peking was to withdraw the Allied forces outside the precincts of the capital. He repeated that the Allied forces would, in his opinion, be able to exercise more effectual pressure on any Chinese Government by concentrating themselves in a strong position outside the capital, in touch with their base on the coast, where their strength would be receiving constant reinforcement.

These views were not shared by any of the other Powers, except partially by Japan, but considered now, a year after, in the light of all that has since taken place, have they not been more than justified? Would not a settlement have been arrived at much more speedily and satisfactorily if the troops had been withdrawn, and the Ambassadors had deliberated at Chefoo, or anywhere else than Peking?

The net result of all that has happened, and of the sagacious policy adopted by Russia, has been enormously to strengthen her influence in the north of China and with the Chinese Government—a truly lamentable outcome, for a China dominated and directed by Russia would be a more constant danger to peace than an independent China, however badly governed. The preponderance of power now placed in Russia's hands will be a perpetual and ever-increasing menace to all the other Powers. The only check to be found to Russian designs is probably in the drawing together of China and Japan in the way the Emperor of China proposed in his telegram to the Emperor of Japan, sent whilst the Legations were still being besieged:—

> From the general trend of events in the world we are persuaded that the East and the West confront each other, and that your Majesty's country and ours are the only Powers that maintain their ground in the East. It is not China alone which is made the object of the ambitious longings of the Powers that assert their strength in the West. Should China fail to hold her own, we are afraid that your Majesty's country might also find the situation untenable. The interests of the two countries are therefore linked together, and we venture to hope that your Majesty may find it possible to set aside for the present questions of minor importance, and make common cause with us in the maintenance of our common interests.

An alliance of this kind, tacit or express, would do more than anything else to restore stability in the East; only to make it thoroughly effective it should

have the hearty concurrence of the United States and of ourselves. Russia is immensely superior now in the north of China, and the French are working gradually up to Yunnan and Schzu'an from the south. When they join hands at Hankow they will have effectually cut off India and Burma from the trade of Central China. Russia, moreover, is establishing relations with Thibet which the Indian Government has failed altogether to do, although it is so near a neighbour; and she is steadily extending her southern railway in Turkestan. The only effective counterpoise would be an understanding between Great Britain and Japan, whose interests—whose safety, indeed—are as much imperilled as our own. If Japan could count upon our support, her position would be immensely strengthened; but she is afraid that we are no longer disposed to take any very active share in the politics of the East, and is turning instead to America, both for trade and for the capital she requires. We cannot blame her. It is our own fault. A Japanese officer said to me: 'Great Britain has always up till now held the supreme position in the East, but she will lose it unless she adopts some definite policy, unless she is prepared to act.' And nothing has prejudiced us so much in the Japanese eyes as our placing ourselves under the guidance of Germany, instead of taking the lead ourselves. Germany has lost little by all that has occurred. She is really our great trade antagonist, just as Russia is our territorial antagonist. Her trade is a young, elastic, and rapidly increasing

one, and the advantage to it from the damage inflicted on the long-established trade of Great Britain will soon counterbalance any temporary damage to her own. She is trying gradually to force us out of the Eastern markets, and the recent occurrences have helped her enormously. She will probably give up her idea of occupying territory, and will devote herself wholly to commerce, in which she will be to us a far more dangerous opponent than she could ever be as as an aggressor on Chinese soil. She is making strenuous efforts now to acquire the trade control of the Yangtze, and to obtain Chinese labour for her Samoan possessions.

Should she ultimately deem it for her interests to work with Great Britain, America, and Japan, an irresistible combination would be formed, which it would be impossible for Russia and France to oppose, though for the present she has made such a combination difficult, owing to the harshness of her attitude to the Chinese. But what is of most importance in the present situation is the sudden and unexpected rise of Japan, both as a military and as a commercial force. It has, indeed, changed the whole balance of power in the East, and the sooner we can bring ourselves to recognise that, the better.

The recent campaign has shown what stuff her soldiers are made of. Her sailors are said by competent critics to be every whit as good; and her mercantile marine is pushing its way into every port of importance in the world.

Situated as she is with regard to China, like the British Islands off the coast of Europe, she is able to concentrate her naval power without delay, and to use it in a manner impossible for the Western nations. And she has, besides, a large conscript army, with which she can follow up any blow she delivers by sea.

But figures are always more convincing than words. Ever since her war with China her army has been going through a gradual improvement, and in 1904, under the scheme of expansion which is being gradually carried out, on a peace footing it will amount to 145,000 men, and on a war footing to 520,000. So, too, in the same year, when the parallel naval reconstruction scheme will also be completed, she will have 6 first-class battleships from 12,500 to 15,000 tons, 1 second-class battleship of 7,250 tons, 6 first-class armoured cruisers of over 9,000 tons, 9 second-class cruisers of over 4,000 tons, 8 third-class cruisers of over 2,500 tons, 10 vessels for coast defence, 18 gunboats, and 4 despatch boats; altogether a force of 63 effective ships, in addition to which are 20 torpedo-boat destroyers and 86 torpedo boats—a truly formidable fleet, of which nearly the whole is already in existence.

It is said sometimes that her finances will break down under the strain, but that is not a likely contingency. Her total debt is only 51,833,600*l.*, and her trade is developing enormously. In 1893 it totalled Yen 177,970,036, and in 1898 it had increased to Yen 443,255,909. She has become already one

of the first-class Powers of the world, and as her natural resources, her shipping, her industries, and her mines become more fully developed these hardy islanders bid fair to play the same part in Asia that we ourselves have played in Europe.

CHAPTER XI

The Indemnities to be paid by China[1]

There are three guiding principles that ought never to be lost sight of in dealing with the amount of the indemnities to be exacted from China in the coming settlement:—(1) That they shall be commensurate with the crime which has to be expiated; (2) that they shall be exacted from those who have been guilty of that crime, and not from those who have had nothing whatever to do with it; and (3) that they shall not be so excessive as to leave China crippled and enfeebled, without power of recovery from the terrible ordeal through which she has passed.

All these points were carefully considered by Lord Elgin in 1860, and the despatch he then sent in justification of the burning of the Summer Palace is a valuable guide at the present moment:—

I might perhaps (he wrote) have demanded a large sum of money, not as compensation for the sufferers, but as a penalty inflicted on the Chinese Government. But, independently of the objection on principle to making high

[1] This was written nearly a year ago, since when the indemnity question has been practically settled. But portions of it may still, I think, be of interest, so I have allowed it to stand.

crime of this nature a mere money question, I hold on this point the opinion which is, I believe, entertained by all persons, without exception, who have investigated the subject: that in the present disorganised state of the Chinese Government to obtain large pecuniary indemnities from it is simply impossible, and that all that can be done practically in the matter is to appropriate such a portion of the Customs revenue as will still leave to it a sufficient interest in that revenue to induce it to allow the natives to continue to trade with foreigners. It is calculated that it will be necessary to take 40 per cent. of the gross Customs revenue of China for about four years in order to procure payment of the indemnities already claimed by Baron Gros and me, under instructions from your Lordship and the French Government.

At that time China had no foreign debt, and the indemnities demanded were small; and yet Lord Elgin hesitated about the imposition of further burdens, which, he felt, would fall not on the Court or on the official classes, who were the guilty persons, but on the innocent peasantry. *Now* the foreign debt amounts to over 52,000,000*l.*, and the Powers are insisting upon the payment of indemnities which will ultimately amount at the very least to a further sixty millions. How China is to meet them in her present exhausted and impoverished state it is difficult to see; and the wisdom of Lord Elgin's remark comes home with additional force—'to appropriate such a portion of the Customs revenue as will still leave to the Chinese Government a sufficient interest in that revenue to induce it to allow the natives to continue to trade with foreigners.' In the same

spirit M. Beau, the present French Minister in Peking, writing on July 1, 1901, to M. Delcassé, observes :—

Pour l'élaboration du plan d'amortissement, mes collègues et moi nous nous sommes inspirés tous de cette vue politique qu'il était de l'intérêt général d'alléger autant que possible les charges financières devant incomber à la Chine du fait du nouvel emprunt, et d'autre part de ne pas retarder l'époque de sa libération.

Cette dernière préoccupation est d'ailleurs partagée par les Plénipotentiaires Chinois, qui désirent très vivement un amortissement rapide.

Nous avons été conduits ainsi à rechercher le plan qui ménage le mieux les ressources très limitées de la Chine.

C'est dans cet esprit que les études n'ont cessé de se poursuivre.

Since Lord Elgin had to deal with the subject the larger portion of the Customs revenue has been hypothecated to meet the interest on the various loans which China has from time to time obtained; the whole of the province of Chih-li has been laid absolutely waste, and a terrible famine is ravaging the other northern provinces, owing to the stoppage of the tribute rice and of the other supplies of food from the coast, upon which a large section of the population habitually depend. China is a rich country, it is true—a milch-cow which might well supply sustenance in the way of legitimate trade to all the nations of Europe if it could only be opened up in a reasonable way; but if the milch-cow is bled violently after an exhausting illness she will die; and surely what is wanted for China now is nourishment and considerate treatment. The burdens she already

has to bear are exceedingly heavy. Her debt at the beginning of last year amounted to 52,935,513*l.*, contracted as follows:—

Chinese Government Loans

	Original amount	Present balance	Date of final repayment
	£	£	
7 per cent. Silver Loan, 1886	—	140,963	Mar. 31, 1907
5½ per cent. Gold Loan, 1887	250,000	49,019	May 1, 1902
7 per cent. Silver Loan, 1894	145,333	145,333	Nov. 1, 1914
6 per cent. Gold Loan, 1895 (Hong-Kong and Shanghai Bank)	3,000,000	2,800,000	Dec. 31, 1914
6 per cent. Gold Loan, 1895 (Chartered Bank)	1,000,000	933,300	Jan. 1, 1915
6 per cent. Gold Loan, 1895 (German Nat. Bank)	1,000,000	933,300	Jan. 30, 1915
4 per cent. Gold Loan, 1895 (French Syndicate, guaranteed by Russia)	15,820,000	14,714,648	July 1, 1931
5 per cent. Gold Loan, 1896 (Hong-Kong and Shanghai Bank and Deutsche Asiatic Bank)	16,000,000	15,280,425	April 1, 1932
4½ per cent. Gold Loan, 1898 (Hong-Kong and Shanghai Bank and Deutsche Asiatic Bank)	16,000,000	15,638,525	Mar. 1, 1943
5 per cent. Chinese Imperial Rail. Gold Loan, 1899	2,300,000	2,300,000	1945
		52,935,513	

It will be noticed that up to 1894 the total debt amounted to less than a million pounds sterling; then the Japanese war brought heavy outlay and a subsequent indemnity, with expenditure for continually increased armaments, the necessity for which was constantly being enforced upon China by the Powers, especially by Great Britain. Now there will be an additional claim of at least 60,000,000*l.*, swelling the total debt to over 100,000,000*l.*, contracted in less than

ten years. This in itself should be enough to make the Powers hesitate in their demand for so enormous a sum; and the fact that almost all the available sources of revenue have already been set aside to meet the existing loans should give them a still further reason for moderation. The loans are all assured by the unconditional guarantee of the Imperial Chinese Government, and by a charge on the revenues of the Imperial Maritime Customs of China. The 4½ per cent. Gold Loan of 1898 is further secured by a charge on the general and salt likin to the extent of 5,000,000 taels. The Imperial Railway 5 per cent. Gold Loan of 1899, besides being unconditionally guaranteed by the Government of China, is secured as a first charge upon the permanent way, rolling-stock, and entire property, with the freight and earnings, of the existing railway lines between Peking and Shan-Hai-Kwan, and a first charge on the earnings of the railway line from Shan-Hai-Kwan to Newchwang. It is this railway that has been so remorselessly treated by the Russians during their period of military occupation. They are said to have removed over 50,000*l.* worth of rolling-stock, and although they have handed over the portion from Tientsin to Peking and Tientsin to Shan-Hai-Kwan to the Germans, who are eventually to deliver it over to the British, the remaining portion, from Shan-Hai-Kwan to Newchwang, has been left in Russian hands; so the security of the shareholders (it is a British loan) has been not a little damaged.

If all these sources of revenue have already been exploited, on what do the Powers rely for the payment of the enormous indemnity they propose to claim? Presumably on the royalties from the mines which they will insist upon China allowing to be worked, and on the railways the construction of which she will be compelled to permit. But until the interior of the country is more settled (and that will take a long time yet) it will be difficult to obtain money, either in Europe or in America, for either mines or railways, and consequently the indemnity will have to be chiefly met by the imposition of a heavier land tax, which will cause great misery and discontent and an added bitterness against the foreigners. The Chinese Government, through Li Hung Chang, are trying to have it secured on an increased tariff upon foreign goods, which will be a very heavy burden on the foreign merchants, and sure to be resisted by them; and it will lead to a still further stagnation of trade, which has already suffered severely from the long continuance of the war.

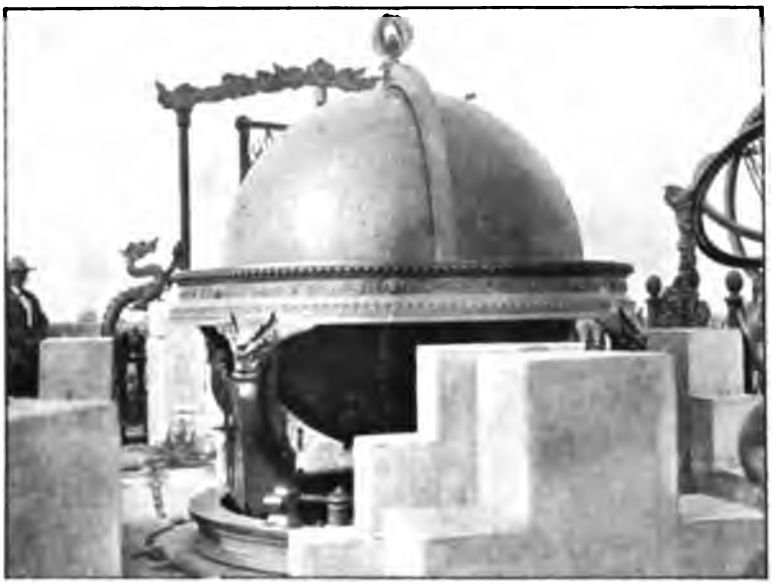
The more statesmanlike course would surely be to follow the example of Lord Elgin, and recognise frankly, as he did, that 'in the present disorganised state of the Chinese Government to obtain large pecuniary indemnities from it is simply impossible;' and to recognise, too, the fact that with Orientals it is always a fatal mistake to make any demand which it is not possible to enforce.

If the other Powers should ultimately come to

the opinion already expressed by some of them—by Russia, by America, by Great Britain, and by Japan—of the necessity of moderation, they have a very easy means of receding from the position they have assumed, and without apparently doing so. They have only to admit that the wholesale looting and destruction of practically the whole of the province of Chih-li, altogether opposed, as it has been, to the usages of civilised war, should be taken *pro tanto* as a set-off for a substantial amount of the indemnities. If the Powers should not be able to agree about this matter, it is by no means unlikely that the Chinese Government may be driven into trying to deal with them separately, and that the concert between them, which has only been maintained up to the present with the greatest difficulty, may break up altogether. The Japanese 'Daily Mail,' the recognised organ of the Japanese Government, on November 6, 1900, in commenting upon this question, said:—

> Li counts on a difference of opinion manifesting itself among the Powers, and only a very sanguine prophet could venture to deny that the old Viceroy has grounds for his hope. Meanwhile Li is said to have communicated to the various governors of provinces intelligence of the heavy indemnity demanded by the Powers, and at the same time has asked the governors to report whether the tax-paying capacity of their districts can respond to such needs. It certainly will not tend to mitigate the anti-foreign feeling throughout China if a heavy burden is laid upon the people in districts which took no part whatever in the *émeute*.

The strength of this anti-foreign feeling, and the



OBSERVATORY INSTRUMENTS, PEKING.

OBSERVATORY INSTRUMENTS, PEKING.

causes that have produced it, are forcibly set out in a most interesting letter, given in the note, written by a Chinaman to the 'North China Daily News.'[1]

Both Japan and America have from the first been in favour of treating China with leniency and forbearance—not only with regard to the indemnities, but with regard to all the other points which have come under discussion—and an adherence to the extreme punitive policy will certainly tend to drive both of them into co-operation with Russia, who, having obtained Manchuria, has declared herself strongly on the same side. It will be a thousand pities if Great Britain should commit herself to the opposite course, for more than anything else will it tend to destroy her influence with the Chinese hereafter—an influence which the events of the last three or four years have already seriously impaired. Lord Elgin's policy of considering the matter in the

[1] 'Jesus is good, but Western countries not necessarily so. Why? Well, for instance take England. At first thought one thinks her good. She had that reputation. But at the beginning she brought India's opium to China, and still is not willing to break it off. Then she took away Hong-Kong, and still governs it. Then later she took Wei-hai-Wei, and rules it also. Then America had a good name, but some time since Chinese went to America. Americans treated them very unkindly and cast them out. Again, for example, there is Germany. She had a fair name. China and Japan having been at war, Germany helped China to get back the Liao-tung Peninsula, and that was kind and good; but who would have thought that she herself would soon take away Kiao-Chau for herself, as well as the advantages of the Customs and railroads? Other countries need not be mentioned. These three are countries that believe in Jesus. Can they treat China thus? At first Christians said that Western countries are just, patient, benevolent, and good. Now it seems as though none of these things are so, and that their words are groundless.'

interests of China as well as in that of the Powers was not only the most humane, but it paid best in the long run, and so would a similar policy now. In any case, whatever the amount of the indemnities may ultimately be settled at, the Powers ought to assist China to obtain it as a loan, provided she places her finances under European control—that is to say, under the control of a foreign adviser, who should hold the same kind of position with regard to the whole of the finances of the Empire that Sir Robert Hart now holds with regard to the Maritime Customs. By far the best person for such an adviser would be an American; that would prevent jealousy amongst the Powers, and would be more agreeable to China than the appointment of any one from any other nationality.

Li Hung Chang, always very anti-British and very pro-Russian, proposed some time ago that the Maritime Customs should be placed under the joint management of the Powers. But if this were done it would certainly lead to the removal of Sir Robert Hart, in spite of the fact that by a recent convention it is expressly stipulated that the Superintendent of Customs shall be British, owing to the trade with Great Britain being so much greater than the trade with any other Power. The proposal is sure to be repeated before long, and it ought to be strenuously opposed. Great Britain has by far the greatest commercial interests in China. It is she who has developed the bulk of the Chinese trade; and it is

Sir Robert Hart who has created the Customs Service—one of the most marvellously efficient services in the world—and it is only right and just that he, and after his retirement that Great Britain, should continue to control it.

In estimating the capability of China to pay the enormous indemnities demanded, it must be borne in mind that the damage that has been caused has by no means been confined to Peking and Tientsin.

The four northernmost provinces of China proper—Chih-li, Shantung, Shansi, and Shensi—are always liable to terrible visitations of famine, owing partly to the poverty of the soil, and partly to their physical configuration. Chih-li, the metropolitan province, is naturally fertile, and produces luxuriant crops of Indian corn and of various kinds of millet, and the grazing lands near Pei-ta-ho and Shan-Hai-Kwan support a fair number of cattle; but it is thickly peopled, and studded with large and important towns. Of these Peking contained formerly over a million inhabitants, and Tientsin three-quarters of a million; whilst Pao-ting-fu, the provincial capital, had close upon a quarter of a million, and Tung-Chow between eighty and a hundred thousand. Besides these there are many smaller towns with from ten to twenty thousand inhabitants. The consequence is that the food supply of the province is not nearly sufficient for its needs, and has to be regularly supplemented, as a matter of course, by supplies from without. Grain is imported from Manchuria, rice chiefly from

Kiang-si and Che-kiang, and sheep from the vast plains of Mongolia. Meat, however, is at the best of times beyond the means of the ordinary Chinese peasant, who has to subsist almost entirely on vegetables—principally on rice, millet, and Indian corn—eking them out with garden produce—sweet potatoes, pumpkins, carrots, turnips, cucumbers, and cabbages. In Shantung and Shansi the country is rugged and the soil less productive, and there are few good roads, so that transportation is arduous and costly. The people, therefore, are even more dependent upon outside sources for food than are their neighbours in Chih-li. But in all these provinces the destitution and misery during the four winter months are exceedingly great.

The late Dr. Roberts, a well-known member of the London Missionary Society, in one of his letters home, gave a vivid description thereof in ordinary times.[1]

Now that the officials and most of the wealthy merchants have either been killed, or have fled into the interior with the Court, and the few who have

[1] 'Near the east gate (of Tientsin) 16,000 women are fed daily. The streets around the Benevolent Hall were crowded with beggars, for, though a large basin of millet gruel is given to the inmates morning and night, they are expected to make up the rest of their food by begging. Five hundred persons are cared for in this way in one place. I saw a room ten feet by thirty feet which had forty men and boys sleeping in it. The air, as you may imagine, was terribly foul, and the inmates were in rags. Besides these, 6,000 more are provided with shelter, the Viceroy having rented a large number of small inns for their accommodation' (*Dr. Roberts of Tientsin*, by Mrs. Bryson, p. 79).

remained have been remorselessly plundered, there is no one left to look after the starving poor. Punitive expedition upon punitive expedition has been sent out from Peking and Tientsin, until the whole of the province of Chih-li has been turned into a foodless waste. Those of the people who were able to escape fled into the high crops (the millet grows from twelve to fifteen feet high) for concealment, and lay there all last summer, feeding on Indian corn and fruit, and such vegetables as did not require to be cooked. But they have had to face the fearful cold of the winter as best they could. Their houses were burnt, and there was no place for them to take shelter in. Many of them must inevitably have been frozen to death, or have died by the still more agonising pangs of hunger, for the crops have been left to rot upon the ground. Sir Robert Hart pointed out the coming danger to the Allied generals as far back as September. He warned them that not only must supplies be brought up for the troops before the Peiho became closed for navigation at the end of November, but that provision must also be made for the Chinese, or the misery would be intense. The only one who acted upon his advice was General Fukushima, who set to work at once to collect stores of grain and rice, which must have proved of incalculable value during last winter. The amount of what is known as tribute rice (it is really taxes paid in kind) imported in ordinary years is very large, and will give an idea of the extent to

which the country is dependent on imported food for its support. In the older books on China it is stated to have been as much as 400,000 tons yearly, which was probably an exaggeration, for Mr. Jameson, in his treatise on the revenue and expenditure of the Chinese Empire, puts it at an average of 104,500 tons. 'Of this,' he says, 'some 200,000 tan (about 18,000 tons) is sent along the old tedious route of the Grand Canal; the rest is sent by sea, partly by junk, partly by the steamers of the China Merchants' Company.' None of this tribute rice was sent up during the past year, and what was over from last year, and stored at Tung-Chow (where the Peiho ceases to be navigable, and which is consequently the terminus of the junk traffic) was seized by the Japanese when they entered the city. It amounted to nearly a thousand tons, and was enough to keep the Japanese troops in food during the whole of the winter, but not enough to enable them to share it with any one else. Moreover, the accumulated food supplies in the inland towns in Shantung, Shansi, and Shensi were last year unusually small, for there has been a veritable water famine in the north of China for four years past, hardly any rain having fallen during that time. The ordinary rainfall is thirty-two inches, and last year at the end of the rainy season only a few inches had fallen; and the average fall for the last five years has not amounted to more than ten inches. Even if there had been no Boxer rising, this long-continued drought would certainly have resulted in a famine;

TOWER ON WALL OF FORBIDDEN CITY, PEKING.

TOWER IN CENTRE OF TUNG CHOW.

only there would then have been an Administration to cope with it, whereas now there is none.

Moreover, if the famine had come at any other time of the year it would not have been nearly so bad; the intense severity of the winter has aggravated it terribly. For although Peking is nearly on the same parallel as Naples (latitude 39·54° N., longitude 116·27° E.), the thermometer goes down as low as 20 degrees below zero, and the Peiho is frozen a foot thick. The vessels that are unable to get away in time from Taku are frozen fast for over four months, and the people are able to walk out upon the ice to a distance of three miles from the land. This last winter, especially, a great number of vessels which had gone up too late in the year were caught in the ice in the endeavour to get rice and grain and other necessaries through into Tientsin for the use of the troops.

As a rule it is a clear still cold, with bright sunny weather, like the winter in Canada; but occasionally there springs up a piercing wind that cuts into the very bones, and against which neither fire nor clothing is much protection. It will be seen that owing to the circumstances of the war, to the stoppage of food at the ports, to the crops being left uncut, and to the punitive expeditions which have ravaged far and wide, the famine which has long been foreseen, and which must have come whatever happened, must be of a more appalling character than the famines which have previously taken place, awful as some of those

have been, and that it far exceeds in horror those that occur in more clement latitudes. Nor is there any possible means of rendering aid to the famished people, even if there were any inclination to do so, though of that there is little indication. What the Ministers have been wrangling over has been, not the relief of the famine-stricken peasantry, but the reparation to be exacted from China, which of the princes and officials shall be executed, and which spared, and whether the indemnity to be paid by China shall be forty millions sterling or sixty millions. It is the old story over again of killing the goose with the golden eggs.

The provinces which have been desolated are, it must be borne in mind, for revenue purposes, owing to the density of the population, by far the richest in China; the land tax of each of the provinces of Chih-li, Shantung, and Shansi being very nearly two and a half million taels, whilst that of Kiang-si and of Che-kiang is not more than a million and a half; the only other provinces the land tax of which amounts to more than two million taels being Szechuan, which yields two million four hundred thousand taels, and Honan, which yields two million three hundred thousand.

Now, as the whole of the province of Chih-li has been desolated, and as the province of Shansi, and, to a certain extent, Shantung also, are being decimated by famine, it must be many years before they will be able to return anything like their previous amount

of land tax; so the indemnities will have to be exacted mainly from the provinces which have had no share in the recent disturbances; and this in itself is sure to lead to great future trouble. A great deal of this misery might have been averted had a less ferocious and unyielding spirit been manifested at the time of the relief operations; if the Court could have been induced to remain in Peking by a guarantee of personal safety; or if, when they had fled, the unfortunate demand had not been made by the German Government that it should be a condition precedent to entering upon diplomatic intercourse that certain guilty officials should first be given up.

This prolonged the period of punitive expeditions for an unnecessarily long time, and led to the consequent still further destruction of the already suffering country. Lord Salisbury pointed out that this effect would be produced in his despatch of September 25, 1900:—

> We are not in possession of any evidence to enable us to judge to whom punishment is principally due, or to know whether it is likely to be in our power to inflict it. Under these circumstances, it appeared to us unwise to pledge ourselves to abstain from making any agreements which may be necessary for the protection of our nationals and our commerce throughout China until those who are chiefly guilty of the recent calamities should have been adequately punished. *It might be an undertaking, if the Allies were to accept it, which would defer for an indefinite period the restoration of the tranquillity of China.*

Russia and Japan also dissented, holding that it would be better that the ringleaders should not be

handed over to the Powers, but that the punishment should be inflicted by the Chinese Government—that such a course would have greater effect upon the Chinese.

However, the German view, which was supported by France, Italy, and Austria, seems to have prevailed, for the punitive expeditions continued.

PROTOCOLE FINAL [1]

(SIGNED BY THE CHINESE PLENIPOTENTIARIES AT PEKING ON SEPTEMBER 7, 1901)

Les Plénipotentiaires
d'Allemagne :
Son Excellence M. A. MUMM VON SCHWARZENSTEIN ;
Etc.

.....

Et de Chine ;
Son Altesse YI-KOUANG, Prince du Premier rang ;
K'ING, Président du Ministère des Affaires étrangères ;
Etc.

.....

Se sont réunis pour constater que la Chine s'est conformée, à la satisfaction des Puissances, aux conditions énumérées dans la Note du 22 décembre 1900 et qui ont été acceptées, dans leur entier, par Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Chine, par un Décret en date du 27 décembre 1900 (*annexe n° 1*).

ARTICLE I (*a*)

Par un Édit Impérial du 9 juin dernier (*annexe n° 2*), Tsai Feng, Prince du premier rang Tch'oun, a été nommé

[1] Les annexes, mentionnées au Protocole final, ne sont pas encore parvenues au Ministère des Affaires étrangères.

Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Chine, et a été chargé, en cette qualité, de porter à Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Allemagne l'expression des regrets de Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Chine et du Gouvernement chinois au sujet de l'assassinat de feu Son Excellence le Baron von Ketteler, Ministre d'Allemagne.

Le Prince Tch'oun a quitté Pékin, le 12 juillet dernier, pour exécuter les ordres qui lui ont été donnés.

Article I (*b*)

Le Gouvernement chinois a déclaré qu'il érigera sur le lieu de l'assassinat de feu Son Excellence le Baron von Ketteler un monument commémoratif, digne du rang du défunt, et portant une inscription en langue latine, allemande et chinoise, qui exprimera les regrets de Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Chine à propos du meurtre commis.

Leurs Excellences les Plénipotentiaires chinois ont fait savoir à Son Excellence le Plénipotentiaire d'Allemagne, par une lettre en date du 22 juillet dernier (*annexe n° 3*), qu'un portique de toute la largeur de la rue est érigé sur ledit lieu et que les travaux ont commencé le 25 juin dernier.

Article II (*a*)

Des Édits Impériaux, en date des 13 et 21 février 1901 (*annexes n^os^ 4, 5 et 6*), ont infligé les peines suivantes aux principaux auteurs des attentats et des crimes commis contre les Gouvernements étrangers et leurs nationaux :

Tsai-Yi, Prince Touan, et Tsai-Lan, duc Fou-Kouo, ont été traduits pour être exécutés, devant la Cour d'assises d'Automne, et il a été stipulé que, si l'Empereur croit devoir faire grâce de la vie, ils seront exilés au Turkestan et y seront emprisonnés à perpétuité sans que cette peine puisse jamais être commuée.

Tsai-Hiun, Prince Tchouang, Ying-nien, Président de la

Cour des Censeurs, et Tchao-chou-K'iao, Président au Ministère de la Justice, ont été condamnés à se donner la mort.

Yu-hien, Gouverneur du Chan-si, K'i-Siéou, Président au Ministère des Rites, et Siu Tch'eng-Yu, précédemment directeur de gauche au Ministère de la Justice, ont été condamnés à la peine de mort.

La dégradation posthume a été prononcée contre Kang-Yi, Sous-Grand-Secrétaire d'Etat, Président au Ministère de l'Intérieur, Sin-T'ong, Grand Secrétaire d'Etat, et Li-Ping-Heng, ancien Gouverneur Général du Sze-tchouan.

Un Édit Impérial du 13 février 1901 (*annexe n° 7*) a réhabilité la mémoire de Siu Yong-yi, Président au Ministère de la Guerre, Li-chan, Président au Ministère des Finances, Hiu-King-tch'eng, Directeur de gauche au Ministère de l'Intérieur, Lien-Yuan, Vice Chancelier au Grand Secrétariat, et Yuan-tch'ang, Directeur à la Cour des sacrifices, qui avaient été mis à mort pour avoir protesté contre les abominables violations du droit international commises au cours de l'année dernière.

Le Prince Tchouang s'est donné la mort le 21 février 1901, Ying-nien et Tchao-chou-K'iao le 24.

Yu-hien a été exécuté le 22, enfin K'i-Sieou et Siu-Tch'eng-yu le 26.

Tong-Fou-Siang, Général au Kan-Sou, a été privé de ses fonctions par Édit Impérial du 13 février, en attendant qu'il soit statué sur la peine définitive à lui infliger.

Des Édits Impériaux du 29 avril et 1901 ont infligé des peines graduelles aux fonctionnaires des provinces reconnus coupables des crimes et attentats commis au cours de l'été dernier.

Article II (*b*)

Un Édit Impérial promulgué le (*annexe n° 8*), a ordonné la suspension des examens officiels pendant cinq ans dans toutes les villes où des Étrangers ont été massacrés ou ont subi des traitements cruels.

ARTICLE III

Afin d'accorder une réparation honorable pour l'assassinat de feu M. Sougiyama, Chancelier de la Légation du Japon, Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Chine a, par un Édit Impérial du 18 juin 1901 (*annexe n° 9*), désigné le Vice-Président au Ministère des Finances, Na-t'ong, comme Envoyé extraordinaire, et l'a chargé spécialement de porter à Sa Majesté l'Empereur du Japon l'expression des regrets de Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Chine et de son Gouvernement au sujet de l'assassinat de feu M. Sougiyama.

ARTICLE IV

Le Gouvernement Chinois s'est engagé à ériger un monument expiatoire dans chacun des cimetières étrangers ou internationaux qui ont été profanés et dont les tombes ont été détruites.

D'accord avec les Représentants des Puissances, il a été convenu que les Légations intéressées donneront les indications pour l'érection de ces monuments, à charge par la Chine d'en couvrir tous les frais, évalués à dix mille taëls pour les cimetières de Pékin et des environs, à cinq mille taëls pour les cimetières des provinces. Ces sommes ont été versées, et la liste de ces cimetières est ci-jointe (*annexe n° 10*).

ARTICLE V

La Chine a accepté de prohiber sur son territoire l'importation des armes et des munitions, ainsi que du matériel destiné exclusivement à la fabrication des armes et des munitions.

Un Édit Impérial a été rendu le (*annexe n° 11*) pour interdire cette importation pendant une durée de deux années.

De nouveaux Édits pourront être rendus par la suite pour proroger ce terme de deux ans en deux ans, dans le cas de nécessité reconnue par les Puissances.

ARTICLE VI

Par un Édit Impérial en date du 29 mai 1901 (*annexe n° 12*) Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Chine s'est engagé à payer aux Puissances une indemnité de quatre cent cinquante millions de haïkouan taëls. Cette somme représente le total des indemnités pour les Etats, les sociétés, les particuliers et les Chinois visés à l'article VI de la note du 22 décembre 1901.

a) Ces quatre cent cinquante millions constituent une dette en or, calculée aux cours du haïkouan par rapport à la monnaie d'or de chaque pays, tels qu'ils sont indiqués ci-après :

Un haïkouan taël	= marks	3,055
—	= couronnes austro-hongroises	3,595
—	= dollar or	0,742
—	= francs	3,750
—	= livre sterling	0,3^{s}0^{d}
—	= Yen	1,407
—	= florin hollandais	1,796
—	= rouble or	1,412

(Au titre de dolia 17,424)

Cette somme en or sera productive d'intérêts à quatre pour cent l'an, et le capital en sera remboursé par la Chine en trente-neuf années, dans les conditions indiquées au plan d'amortissement ci-joint (*annexe n° 13*).

Le capital et les intérêts seront payables en or ou aux taux de change correspondant, aux dates des diverses échéances. Le fonctionnement de l'amortissement commencera le 1er janvier 1902 pour finir à l'expiration de l'année 1940. Les amortissements seront payables annuellement, la première échéance étant fixée au 1er janvier 1903.

Les intérêts seront comptés à partir du 1er juillet 1901, mais le Gouvernement chinois aura la faculté de se libérer, dans un délai de trois ans commençant le 1er janvier 1902, des arrérages du premier semestre finissant le 31 décembre

1901, à la condition toutefois de payer des intérêts composés à quatre pour cent l'an sur les sommes dont le versement aura ainsi été différé.

Les intérêts seront payables semestriellement, la première échéance étant fixée au 1er juillet 1902.

b) Le service de la dette sera effectué à Shanghaï et de la manière suivante :

Chaque Puissance se fera représenter par un délégué dans une Commission de banquiers qui sera chargée d'encaisser le montant des intérêts et des amortissements qui lui sera versé par des autorités chinoises désignées à cet effet, de le répartir entre les intéressés et d'en donner quittance.

c) Le Gouvernement chinois remettra au doyen du corps diplomatique à Pékin un bon global qui sera transformé ultérieurement en coupures revêtues de la signature des délégués du Gouvernement chinois désignés à cet effet. Cette opération et toutes celles se rapportant à l'établissement des titres seront effectuées par la Commission précitée, conformément aux instructions que les Puissances enverront à leurs délégués.

d) Le produit des ressources affectées au payement des bons sera versé mensuellement entre les mains de la Commission.

e) Les ressources affectées à la garantie des bons sont énumérées ci-après :

1° Le reliquat des revenus de la Douane maritime impériale après payement de l'intérêt et de l'amortissement des emprunts antérieurs gagés sur ces revenus, augmentés du produit de l'élévation à 5 p. o/o effectifs du tarif actuel sur les importations maritimes, y compris les articles qui jusqu'à présent entraient en franchise, à l'exception du riz, des céréales et des farines de provenance étrangère, ainsi que de l'or et de l'argent monnayés ou non monnayés ;

2° Les revenus des Douanes indigènes, administrées dans les ports ouverts, par la Douane maritime imperiale ;

3° L'ensemble des revenus de la gabelle, sous réserve

de la fraction affectée précédemment à d'autres emprunts étrangers.

L'élévation du tarif actuel sur les importations à 5 p. o/o effectifs est consentie aux conditions ci-après :

La mise en vigueur de cette élévation commencera deux mois après la date de la signature du présent protocole, et il ne sera fait d'exception que pour les marchandises en cours de route, au plus tard dix jours après cette date.

1° Tous les droits sur les importations perçus *ad valorem* seront convertis en droits spécifiques, autant qu'il sera possible de le faire, et dans le plus bref délai.

Cette conversion sera établie comme suit :

On prendra comme base d'évaluation la valeur moyenne des marchandises au moment de leur débarquement, pendant les trois années 1897, 1898 et 1899, c'est-à-dire la valeur du marché, déduction faite du montant des droits d'entrée et des frais accessoires.

En attendant le résultat de cette conversion, les droits seront perçus *ad valorem* ;

2° Le cours du Peï-ho et celui du Whangpou seront améliorés avec la participation financière de la Chine.

Article VII

Le Gouvernement chinois a accepté que le quartier occupé par les Légations fût considéré comme un quartier spécialement réservé à leur usage et placé sous leur police exclusive, où les Chinois n'auraient pas le droit de résider, et qui pourrait être mis en état de défense.

Les limites de ce quartier ont été ainsi fixées sur le plan ci-joint (*annexe n° 14*) :

A l'Ouest, la ligne 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 ;

Au Nord, la ligne 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 ;

A l'Est, la rue Ketteler : 10, 11, 12 ;

Au Sud, la ligne 12–1 tirée le long du pied extérieur de la muraille tartare en suivant les bastions.

Par le protocole annexé à la lettre du 16 janvier 1901

la Chine a reconnu à chaque Puissance le droit d'entretenir une garde permanente dans ledit quartier pour la défense de sa Légation.

ARTICLE VIII

Le Gouvernement chinois a consenti à faire raser les forts de Takou et ceux qui pourraient empêcher les libres communications entre Pékin et la mer.

Des dispositions ont été prises à cet effet.

ARTICLE IX

Le Gouvernement chinois a reconnu aux Puissances, par le protocole annexé à la lettre du 16 janiver 1901, le droit d'occuper certains points, à déterminer par un accord entre elles, pour maintenir les communications libres entre la capitale et la mer.

Les points occupés par les Puissances sont: Houang-Ts'oun, Lang-fang, Yang-ts'oun, Tien-tsin, Kiun-léang-tchang, Tang-k'ou, Lou-tai, Tang-chan, Louan-tchéou, Tchang-li, Ts'in-wang-tao, Chan-hai-kouan.

ARTICLE X

Le Gouvernement chinois s'est engagé à afficher et à publier pendant deux ans dans toutes les villes de district les Edits impériaux suivants:

a) Edit du 1er février 1901 (*annexe n° 15*), portant défense perpétuelle, sous peine de mort, de faire partie d'une société anti-étrangère;

b) Edit du

contenant l'énumération des peines qui ont été infligées aux coupables;

c) Edit du

supprimant les examens dans toutes les villes où des étrangers ont été massacrés ou ont subi des traitements cruels;

d) Edit du 1er février 1901 (*annexe n° 16*), déclarant que

tous les gouverneurs généraux, gouverneurs et fonctionnaires provinciaux ou locaux sont responsables de l'ordre dans leurs circonscriptions, et qu'en cas de nouveaux troubles anti-étrangers ou encore d'autres infractions aux traités qui n'auraient pas été immédiatement réprimées, et dont les coupables n'auraient pas été punis, ces fonctionnaires seront immédiatement révoqués sans pouvoir être appelés à de nouvelles fonctions ni recevoir de nouveaux honneurs.

L'affichage de ces Edits se poursuit progressivement dans tout l'Empire.

ARTICLE XI

Le Gouvernement chinois s'est engagé à négocier les amendements jugés utiles par les Gouvernements étrangers, aux traités de commerce et de navigation, et les autres sujets touchant aux relations commerciales dans le but de les faciliter.

Dès maintenant et par suite des stipulations inscrites à l'article VI au sujet de l'indemnité, le Gouvernement chinois s'engage à concourir à l'amélioration du cours des rivières Peï-Ho et Whangpou, comme il est dit ci-dessous :

a) Les travaux d'amélioration de la navigation du Peï-Ho, commencés en 1898 avec la coopération du Gouvernement chinois, ont été repris sous la direction d'une Commission internationale.

Aussitôt après que l'Administration de Tien-tsin aura été remise au Gouvernement chinois, celui-ci pourra se faire représenter dans cette Commission, et versera chaque année une somme de soixante mille haïkouan taëls pour l'entretien des travaux.

b) Il est créé un Conseil fluvial chargé de la direction et du contrôle des travaux de rectification du Whangpou et d'amélioration du cours de cette rivière.

Ce Conseil est composé de membres représentant les intérêts du Gouvernement chinois et ceux des étrangers dans le commerce maritime de Shanghaï.

Les frais nécessités par les travaux et l'Administration

générale de l'entreprise sont évalués à la somme annuelle de quatre cent soixante mille haïkouan taëls pendant les vingt premières années.

Cette somme sera fournie par moitié par le Gouvernement chinois et par les intéressés étrangers.

Le détail des stipulations se rapportant à la composition, aux attributions et aux revenus du Conseil fluvial fait l'objet de l'*annexe n° 17*.

Article XII

Un Edit impérial du 24 juillet 1901 (*annexe n° 18*) a reformé l'Office des Affaires étrangères (Tsong-li-Yamen), dans le sens indiqué par les Puissances, c'est-à-dire qu'il l'a transformé en un Ministère des Affaires étrangères (Wai-won-pou) qui prend rang avant les six autres Ministères d'Etat.

Le même Edit a nommé les principaux membres de ce Ministère.

Un accord s'est établi également au sujet de la modification du cérémonial de Cour relatif à la réception des Représentants étrangers et a fait l'objet de plusieurs Notes des Plénipotentiaires chinois résumées dans un mémorandum ci-joint (*annexe n° 19*).

Enfin il est expressément entendu que, pour les déclarations sus-énoncées et les documents annexés émanant des Plénipotentiaires étrangers, le texte français fait seul foi.

Le Gouvernement chinois s'étant ainsi conformé, à la satisfaction des Puissances, aux conditions énumérées dans la Note précitée du 22 décembre 1900, les Puissances ont accédé au désir de la Chine de voir cesser la situation créée par les désordres de l'été 1900.

En conséquence les Plénipotentiaires étrangers sont autorisés à déclarer au nom de leurs Gouvernements que, à l'exception des gardes des Légations mentionnées à l'article VII, les troupes internationales évacueront complètement la ville de Pékin le 1901, et, à l'exception des

endroits mentionnés à l'article IX, se retireront de la province du Tcheli le 1901.

Le présent Protocole final a été établi en douze exemplaires identiques et signés par tous les Plénipotentiaires des Pays contractants. Un exemplaire sera remis à chacun des Plénipotentiaires étrangers et un exemplaire sera remis aux Plénipotentiaires chinois.

Peking, le 1901.

CHAPTER XII

The Policy of the Powers in China

'Here is the inhabitant; every one is not allowed to come in.' So runs the quaint announcement outside the private grounds of a Chinese house in Chefoo. And it would be difficult to find a more excellent epitome of the Chinese attitude towards the Western barbarians. It was not so always. In the days of Marco Polo strangers were accorded a far more hospitable welcome; and even so late as the seventeenth century, in the time of the early Jesuit missionaries, they were received with kindness, if not with cordiality. All this, however, was changed as soon as the strangers began to assert rights, and to interfere with the customs of the country and the carefully prescribed rules of intercourse; for the one thing to which the Chinese cling above all others is the absolute direction and control of their domestic affairs, free from all outside interference or restraint. In the Edict issued by Governor Loo in 1834, in response to the observations addressed to him by Lord Napier on behalf of the Canton merchants, these words occur:—

The said barbarian eye styles himself superintendent come to Canton. Whether a superintendent should be appointed over the said nation's barbarian merchants or not is in itself needless to inquire about minutely. But we Chinese will still manage through the medium of merchants. There can be no alteration made for officers to manage.

In more dignified language the same principle was enunciated by the Tsung-li-Yamên to Sir C. Macdonald on December 31, 1898, in reply to his intimation that the British Government claimed priority of consideration by the Chinese Government of all the British applications already made for railways in the event of the Chinese Government revoking their resolution not to entertain any more proposals. The letter of the Tsung-li-Yamên is worth setting out *in extenso*; for the rush for concessions and the arbitrary and, to the Oriental mind, almost indecent way in which they were forced upon the Chinese Government have, in the opinion of many competent observers, had far more to do with the recent outbreak than any action by or animus against the missionaries:—

We have the honour to observe that the development of railways in China is the natural right and advantage of the Chinese Government. If, hereafter, in addition to the lines already sanctioned, which will be proceeded with in order, China proposes to construct other railways, she will negotiate with the nation which she finds suitable. When the time arrives China must use her own discretion as to her course of action. The applications of British merchants can, of course, be kept on record as material for negotiation

at that day, but it is not expedient to treat them as having prior claim above all others to a settled agreement.

No one can wish to palliate or excuse what has been really treacherous in the conduct of the Chinese Government, or the terrible cruelties committed by the officials acting under its orders; but unless some attention be paid to the Chinese case (and in many ways it is a strong one) it will be impossible to understand what can have induced them to act as they have done, or to take measures for guarding against a repetition of such behaviour in the future.

To begin with, it will be admitted that the commercial wars waged against China by Great Britain and France in the middle of the present century have done much to justify the dread which the Chinese have always had of intrusion, as the thin edge of the wedge which will some day rend their country asunder—a dread which the insistence with which commercial enterprises have of late years been urged upon an unwilling Court has still further intensified.

It would have been wiser if all the Powers had acted upon the principle laid down in the Burlinghame Treaty in 1869:—

The United States, always disclaiming and discouraging all practices of unnecessary dictation and intervention by one nation in the affairs or domestic administration of another, do hereby freely disclaim and disavow any intention or right to intervene in the domestic administration of China in regard to the construction of railroads, telegraphs, or other national improvements. On the other hand, His

Majesty the Emperor of China reserves to himself the right to decide the time and manner and circumstances of introducing such improvements within his dominions.

For it is every day becoming more evident that the open and undisguised way in which the coming partition of China was discussed, the unseemly scramble for concessions, and still more the seizures of portions of Chinese territory—seizures in which almost all the Powers joined—have had a far more potent influence in bringing to a head the latent hatred against the foreigners than the much talked-of friction with the missionaries, of whom the politicians of Europe are now anxious to make a scapegoat. The hatred displayed to the non-Christian house-boys in Tientsin is strong confirmatory evidence that the Boxer movement was quite as much anti-foreign as anti-Christian.

But though the acquisitions of territory, and not the missionaries, have been the real *irritamenta malorum*, the missionaries have, nevertheless, contributed in proportion as they have caused themselves to be looked upon, not as evangelists pure and simple, but as emissaries acting on behalf of their respective Governments. Nor, it may be repeated, will missionary enterprise in China ever really flourish until the missionaries disassociate themselves altogether from political affairs. The Taiping Rebellion, it should be remembered, was nominally a Christian revolt, and although it was put down by the assistance of Great Britain, it was inevitable that

the Court and the official classes should hereafter regard Christianity as a grave danger; it was not surprising that San-ko-lin-sin in 1858, and the Governor of Kiang-si in 1860, should have memorialised the Throne against it as a revolutionary and subversive creed, just as many officials have been doing lately.

> On this account (wrote Archdeacon Moule in his 'Personal Recollections of the Taiping Rebellion') one could not but welcome the roar of the British guns on May 10, 1862. It afforded a complete answer to the sneer, 'You Christians are in league with our oppressors, the destroyers of the dynasty, yet with no reconstructive power of their own.' 'Strange, if so,' we replied, 'that Christian Powers should have driven out their brethren and allies by force of arms.' Nevertheless we should deal gently, I think, with Government inertness and official reserve and literary opposition, which meet us and hinder us continually in our Christian work.

Most noble and Christian words! Would that all missionary effort had been on the same broad and tolerant basis!

It is not necessary to follow step by step the various occasions on which the murder or ill-treatment of a missionary has been made use of as a pretext for political and commercial aggression. None have felt the wrongfulness of it more keenly than the missionaries themselves, none have protested against it more strenuously. Still, in spite of their protests, such outrages continued to be made use of in the same way until the climax was reached in 1898,

when Germany seized the port of Kiao-Chau as compensation for the murder of two German missionaries in the province of Shantung; this, it is generally believed, being the final grievance which lit up the long-smouldering resentment of the more hot-headed of the Manchu princes.

So much for the general policy of the European Powers. In addition to it, the net result of our own diplomacy during the last few years has been most disastrous to British prestige. We have threatened and have given way—always a fatal mistake with Orientals—have formulated a policy, and immediately after have acted in a directly contrary manner. British influence in the East has never really recovered from the blow dealt to it by the House of Commons in passing a resolution that the integrity of China should be maintained, followed almost immediately afterwards by the acquiescence of the British Government in the occupation of Port Arthur and by our own acquisition of Wei-hai-Wei and Kowloon. It brings to mind the apophthegm of the great Lord Burleigh, that England would never be ruined but by a Parliament. The Chinese are rapidly ceasing to trust us, and they are ceasing also to fear us.

Russian prestige, on the other hand, has increased in proportion as ours has declined. Russia has been outwardly most solicitous of Chinese rights, of the feelings and dignity of the Chinese Court. What she has done she has always done under cover of

diplomatic arrangements, and not by violence; but she has never failed to seize upon, and to retain, an advantage whenever an opportunity to do so has presented itself. Her acquisition of Port Arthur under a nominal lease from the Chinese Government was a typical instance of her method of procedure, just as the forcible seizure of Kiao-chau by a German squadron was an instance of the opposite method. So, too, was the cautious attitude assumed by the Russian Minister in Peking during the early days of the Boxer outbreak.

Sir C. Macdonald telegraphed on May 21, 1900, to Lord Salisbury: 'He (M. de Giers) thought that both landing guards and naval demonstrations were to be discouraged, as they give rise to unknown eventualities.'

And when the outbreak assumed alarming proportions, instead of declaring, as the Germans did, that the Chinese Government was crumbling to pieces, the Russian Government, as late as June 6, offered to undertake the suppression of the Boxer rebellion and the restoration of order in the province of Chih-li.

So, again, directly Peking was entered, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs issued a statement in which he declared that the only objects had in view by the Russian Government were the protection of Russian subjects against the Boxer insurgents, *and to furnish the Peking Government with such assistance as might enable it to take the necessary measures for the restoration of tranquillity and good order.*

The terrible cruelties committed by the Russian troops have, as might have been expected, aroused a very bitter feeling; yet, however much they have shocked the conscience of Europe, they have not had the same effect upon the Chinese Court, for they were exercised nominally against the rebellious subjects of China, and they were not worse than those committed against the Boxers by the Chinese authorities themselves. And, in any case, the Chinese as a people do not seem to resent Russian brutality in the same way that they resent the severities of other nations. The Russians, it is true, are ruthless whilst hostilities are still in progress, but when once they are over they treat the Chinese with a rough kindliness which does much to conciliate them; being half Oriental themselves, they mix with them freely, and do not hold themselves aloof like superior beings, as most other foreigners do. A man who knows China well explained the difference to me thus: 'The Russians,' he said, 'hold the sword in the right hand and a bit of sugar in the left, and when they have done with the one they begin with the other. But the Germans use first the sword and then the horsewhip; they never let the people down at all; they embitter their daily lives far more than the Russians do.'

And it certainly was a noteworthy fact that when the Russians removed their troops from Peking, and it became known that the Germans were to occupy the Russian quarter, there was a hasty exodus into the adjacent Japanese quarter of many of the Chinese

who had begun to settle down quietly under Russian administration.

From the very beginning the German policy has been harsh and unrelenting; one of unwise humiliation both of the Chinese Court and of the Chinese people. They alone of all the Powers were in favour of the destruction of the Imperial tombs:—

> The Government of His Majesty consider, however, that they should give prominence to the fact that neither would they have held aloof if the proposal of the Consuls at Tientsin to threaten the destruction of the Chinese Imperial tombs had met with the concurrence of the other Powers. It appears to the Imperial Government in this connection that the opinion of the Consuls, who from their immediate vicinity are best qualified to judge the situation, is not without weight, they being unanimously convinced that the threat to destroy the tombs of the present Imperial house would exercise a salutary effect on the rioters, whose principal leader is himself a Prince of the said Imperial House.

How different was the tone adopted by the Russian Government! Count Lamsdorff on August 30, 1900, in urging upon Sir C. Scott the desirability of the withdrawal of the Allied forces from Peking, used these words:—

> It was impossible to entertain seriously the proposal, which had been put forward in some public quarters, that the Allied forces, lowering themselves to the level of savagery of the Chinese, should, before leaving Peking, inflict some indelible mark of their presence there which would impress itself on Chinese memory, as razing the city to the ground, or perpetrating some other equally

barbarous act of vandalism, and His Excellency dreaded the possibility of the foreign troops there getting out of hand and yielding to the temptation of pillage and other acts of violence.

The Russian policy, indeed, ever since the relief of the Legations, has been wise and humane; or, rather, it has been wise *because* it has been humane.

When the heat of conflict was over they did all they could to spare the feelings of the Chinese officials, 'to save the Chinese face.' They safeguarded both the Imperial Palace and the Summer Palace as long as they were able, and extended protection to many of the Chinese officials who were believed not to have been implicated in the attack upon the Legations; the Germans declaring that protection could be accorded to no officials whatever.

It is a pity we have not had, during those critical months, a more independent policy of our own, for it has been in every way prejudicial that British interests should have been subordinated to those of Germany; and it has been especially prejudicial that our troops should have been placed under the command of the German Commander-in-Chief. An American said to me in Tientsin, 'I can't understand you English. You ought to be the principal Power in China—your trade interests warrant it; but first you almost ask Japan to settle this business for you, and then you place yourselves under the orders of Germany. How can you expect to maintain your influence with the Chinese?'

On May 21, 1900—just a year ago—M. de Giers told Sir C. Macdonald that there were only two countries with serious interests in China—England and Russia. Would he place England in such a prominent position now, when her influence in the North has dwindled to nothing, when her trade there has been crippled for years, and when, too, she has lost all prospect of the exclusive influence which she had always hoped to obtain in the Yangtze Valley?

The demand for vengeance and for excessive indemnities has only played still further into Russia's hands. It has enabled her to work successfully on the feelings of the Chinese Court, and has driven into a tacit co-operation with her both the Americans and the Japanese, although they are the nations who, with ourselves, have been most injured by her virtual annexation of Manchuria, and who would, therefore. have otherwise been most strongly opposed to her. The net result of the two policies—of forbearance and of vindictiveness—is that the influence of Russia and of Japan has gone up in the scale in proportion as that of Great Britain has declined. Can there be any doubt of this? What do the Chinese say themselves? Kang-Yu-Wei, as long ago as 1897, foretold accurately what has since happened. 'China only leans on Russia, and in this way allows itself to be easily divided up and ruined;' and again, 'The Empress Dowager was ready to give up Manchuria and Formosa. The Emperor could not think of it for a moment without crying with distress; he wanted to

make an alliance with England and reform, whilst the Empress Dowager was equally bent on alliance with Russia without reform.' Has the balance of power shifted since then? Has not Russian influence become increasingly preponderant owing to the occurrences of last year? On September 13, 1900, the progressive Chinese newspaper 'Sin-Wan-Pao' wrote as follows:—

> It is now pretty generally acknowledged that in matters of diplomacy Russia takes the lead of all foreign nations, and England is hopelessly belated. In the settlement between Japan and China, England was asked to act as intermediary, but declined to do so, and we lost Liao-tung. Russia, looking on, demanded its restoration, and it was restored to us. Germany and France have also assisted us, but we have yet to hear that one word was spoken by England. Now all China is in a ferment. Every one is filled with gratitude towards Russia, and no doubt of her is entertained, the hearts of all inclining to her, so that outsiders agree in saying that there must be some secret treaty between Russia and China. In thus putting forward an empty name, and keeping her real material advantage in the background, Russia shows her unfathomable subtlety, which other nations cannot imitate. The fact that the first peace proposals have been from Russia should startle the brain and nerve of every foreign Government.

The Russians, as the 'Sin-Wan-Pao' says, are past-masters in the art of diplomacy. They thoroughly understand the art of apparently conceding a point in dispute, whilst in reality they are gaining all they are contending for. It is what they are doing now about Manchuria. They will not insist

upon China signing the Convention if it is repugnant to her and to the Powers; but nevertheless they will not relax their hold; if anything, they will strengthen it. It is of no use girding at Russia about her action there; it only increases the friction without doing any good, and her occupation of it is as accomplished a fact as our own occupation of Egypt. The line of attack—of defence rather—must be shifted elsewhere, and is to be found in an entire reversal of the suicidal policy adopted by us in 1898, of supporting the Empress Dowager against the lawful Emperor and the Ministers he had chosen to carry out his reforms; in recognising that what was called by Sir C. Macdonald the Kang-Yu-Wei conspiracy was in reality a conspiracy of the Empress Dowager, backed up by the foreign Powers, against the Emperor Kwang-Su, who has been just as much an unhappy victim in the hands of the reactionary Manchus as Louis XVI. was in the hands of the Paris mob in the early days of the French Revolution; and that it is monstrously unjust to punish him, and to punish the unoffending provinces of China, for crimes in which they had no part. It is even uncertain whether the Empress Dowager herself has not in reality been a mere puppet in the hands of Prince Tuan and his following, Sir C. Macdonald, as late as June 3, 1900, telegraphing to Lord Salisbury that

> The situation at the Palace is, I learn from reliable authority, very strained. *The Empress Dowager does not dare to put down the Boxers, although wishing to do so,*

on account of the support given them by Prince Tuan, father of the hereditary Prince, and other conservative Manchus, and also because of their numbers.

So also the Peking correspondent of the 'North China Daily News' wrote on June 5, 1900:—

At a secret conference of the Empress Dowager's principal advisers, held at the Palace on June 4, it was decided not to crush the Boxers, as they were really loyal to the dynasty, and, properly armed, can be turned into valuable auxiliaries of the army in opposing foreign aggression. Jung Lu and Prince Li opposed measure, but were overruled by Prince Ching, Prince Tuan, Kang Yi, Chi-Hsui, and Chao-Shu-Chiao. *Wang-Wen-Shao was silent, and the Empress Dowager kept her own counsel.*

And before that, on June 2, Sir C. Macdonald had wired to Lord Salisbury:—

I am informed by the French Minister that he has learnt on good authority that the Empress Dowager is preparing to fly to Sian-Fu, in Shensi, owing to hostile demonstrations of the Boxers against herself.

This and more evidence of the same character goes far to prove that the Empress was not really the moving spirit in the attack upon the Legations, but that she, like the Emperor, was swept away by the tide of popular passion; that the attack was really the action of a revolutionary party, and not of the responsible Chinese Government.

And even if there were stronger grounds of suspicion of the Empress Dowager's complicity, to have accepted the view that she was not directly responsible (which was what Russia did from the

first) would have afforded the Powers an easy way out of their difficulty—would have enabled them to keep up the fiction that they were not at war with China, but were only helping China to suppress the anarchy and rebellion which had sprung up in her midst. It was a fiction which, worked properly, might have operated to save much of the misery that has been caused by the long-continued occupation of Peking by the Powers.

The harm that has been done is irreparable; and it is sometimes urged that we ought now to refrain from taking any very prominent part in the future settlement of China, because our trade interests there show signs of being on the decline. But our position in China is of infinitely greater importance to us as a matter of Imperial prestige than as a mere trade question. There is such a thing as Imperial responsibility, as well as Imperial profit. We have not hesitated to recognise that in South Africa, nor ought we to shrink from doing so in China. In Asia rumour travels fast, and it travels far, and if we consent to play a subordinate part in China now, if the Chinese should come to look upon Great Britain, whom they have been wont to regard as the greatest of all the Powers with whom they have to deal, neither as a friend to be relied upon, nor as an enemy to be feared, the result upon our Indian Empire is not difficult to conjecture. On that account alone we dare not stand aside—dare not allow America, or Japan, or Germany to give us any

longer the lead which we ought from our position to have been the first to give ourselves. We have grudged neither men nor money to retain our hold upon South Africa, because it is a halfway house to India, but we seem quite blind to the danger of losing our influence in China, a country which for our Indian possessions is of infinitely greater importance than the Cape.

What we require is a definite policy one way or the other, and a policy we are ready to back up if need be by force of arms. Which policy is it to be—the German policy of vengeance, or the Japanese-American policy of forbearance and assistance? Self-interest as well as humanity counsels the latter. It is of no use to flatter the Yangtze Viceroys and Yuan-Shih-Kai if we go directly against their wishes. They naturally object to a huge indemnity; for why, they say, should our people, who have remained steady through all this time of stress and anxiety, be called upon to pay an enormously increased taxation because the Northern Provinces have been swept into the vortex of rebellion? It is a little difficult to understand, for the obligation the Europeans are under to the Yangtze Viceroys is incalculable. Last summer, when a hostile move on their part would have seriously imperilled Shanghai, they kept their people quiet, and all through the vast provinces committed to their charge Europeans were able to live in perfect safety. Chang-Chih-Tung issued a proclamation at the most critical moment, of which the following is an extract:—

BRITISH NAVAL GUNS ON MARCH TO PEKING. Page 97

GERMAN GUNS ON MARCH.

Chang-Chih-Tung, Viceroy of Hu-Kuang and Yu Yinlin, Governor of Hupeh.—The Viceroy and Governor have co-operated with H.E. Liu, Viceroy of Liang Kiang Provinces, with regard to the protection and preservation of order in our respective territories. We have agreed upon a carefully worked-out plan of mutual co-operation for the complete protection of all the Eastern and Southern Provinces, and have, moreover, mutually arranged with the Consuls of the various foreign Powers, that while the Admirals of the various Powers do not enter the Yangtze River with their fleets we will guarantee the safety of all foreigners and foreign property in the inland provinces, all of whom and their belongings will be under the special care and protection of the local authorities, who will use their best efforts to preserve the peace. This has since been telegraphed to the Throne and entered in the record. It must be further understood that these arrangements have been entered into and mutually agreed upon with the special object of safeguarding the land and the protection of the lives and property of the masses. There is no better plan than the above.

Moreover, an increased taxation to meet the indemnities will mean European control of the whole of China, and why, the Viceroys say, should we, who kept our provinces quiet at the moment of danger, be rewarded by having our authority curtailed?

And yet another question on which we have been in sharp antagonism throughout to the Viceroys is that of the responsibility of the Empress Dowager, and the treatment to be accorded her. The European press in China has, as a rule, endorsed the violent and abusive language used towards her by the leaders of the Southern reform movement; but the Viceroys

have never faltered in their personal loyalty to her, even when opposing in the most unequivocal way the wishes of the Court clique who held her in their power. Had we listened to the Viceroys' views, and followed a little the counsel they gave us, much of this miserable bloodshed might have been averted. It has been due largely to the flight of the Court from Peking, and their refusal to return thither; and a perusal of the Blue Books shows that in all likelihood that flight would never have taken place had the Powers given the assurance the Viceroys were continually pressing for—that no personal indignity should be offered either to the Emperor or to the Empress.

Consul Fraser wired to Lord Salisbury from Hankow as early as July 17, directly after the fall of Tientsin, as follows :—

> I believe that the Viceroys' hands would be strengthened by a public assurance that the Emperor and Empress Dowager will be treated by the Foreign Powers respectfully and honourably, as the Empress is not considered by the Viceroys and the official classes as really to blame for the present situation, or as having usurped the throne. A guarantee of their Majesties' personal safety would do good and would probably lessen opposition in the North, if this assurance is impossible. The Viceroy wished me to see him and hear his view on this urgent matter, but I replied that I could not do so until I had obtained instructions from your Lordship on the subject.

An even stronger telegram was sent on August 1, by Mr. Warren, from Shanghai :—

The Viceroys at Nanking and Wuchang have declared themselves loyal to the Empress Dowager, and have stated distinctly that they will be unable to carry out the agreement of neutrality entered into with foreign Governments unless it is guaranteed that her person shall be respected.

This was not done, and on August 18 Mr. Warren again wired:—

An identic Note has been addressed by the Viceroys at Wuchang and Nanking to all the Consuls-General at this port, requesting them to urge their respective Governments to guarantee the personal safety of the Emperor and the Empress Dowager. The Viceroys promise that if they are unharmed they will unswervingly hold to their agreement for the preservation of peace and order in the south-eastern Provinces.

This was after the taking of Peking, but whilst the Empress Dowager was believed to be still in its immediate vicinity.

Again, on August 30, the Japanese Minister made the following communication to Lord Salisbury:—

The Imperial Government deem it absolutely necessary that the Powers should at once take necessary steps to induce the Emperor and Empress Dowager to return as early as possible to the capital, and form a responsible Government for the purpose of opening the peace negotiations.

But still no such assurance or guarantee as was asked for was given, Sir C. Macdonald merely wiring from Peking on September 30:—

So far as I am aware no official assurances have yet been given as regards the safety of the Empress Dowager,

but it is certainly the belief of Prince Ching that her person would be safe if she returned, although she would be excluded from power. This he gathers from his conversations with foreign representatives. All chance of inducing the Throne to get rid of its present advisers would be, I believe, destroyed were any threat to the contrary made.

This correspondence makes it quite plain how crippled the Viceroys have been in their efforts to restore the normal condition of affairs after the fall of Peking, how endangered in their own safety, owing to the lack of a guarantee which, even if distasteful, might surely have been conceded to them in return for the valuable services they were rendering. If the Kiangyin Forts had been occupied when they were offered to us, we should again have assumed the commanding position in China which was formerly ours; we could have given the Viceroys substantial aid, and could have effectually prevented any attempt by any of the Powers to interfere with their authority, and we could also have made them practically secure against the enmity of those hostile to them in Peking. We have chosen deliberately to make the assistance we can render of less value than it might have been, but it does not release us from the obligation still to give that assistance if events should make it needful. We declaim against the barbarities of some of the other Powers, of their harshness and inhumanity to the Chinese, but we forget that the net result of our own vacillating policy has been productive of even greater calamities.

If, in spite of our protests on behalf of the Chinese, we had not yielded about Port Arthur, if we had not occupied Kowloon and Wei-hai-Wei, if we had not openly handed over to Germany what was not ours to give—an exclusive interest in Shantung—the political equilibrium in China would not have been unsettled as it has been. The Chinese would not have ceased to trust us, as they have, and the recent convulsion might never have occurred. So now, what has done most to destroy still further our influence, and to prolong instability in China, is the uncertainty in the minds of the Yangtze Viceroys as to whether we intend to give them effective assistance or not. We are again falling between two stools, and unless we can, and without much further delay, definitely make up our minds as to what we really propose to do, we shall dangerously imperil our position all over the East. And if an actively friendly policy be adopted now, it must be adopted frankly and ungrudgingly, and without delay; we must not seem to be drawn into it unwillingly, and because we cannot help ourselves. And the support we proffer must be of tangible assistance, not merely of friendly declarations. It is quite possible that China may be rousing herself from her many centuries of torpor; that, in the inexpressibly pathetic words of the Tientsin mandarin, all this misery and desolation may have been necessary for her ultimate welfare, may have been needed to arouse her from her lethargy, that she may be going through the same transmuta-

tion that Japan has undergone, a phœnix rising triumphant from the ashes of her past.

If that should prove to be so, is the new-born China to look upon us with gratitude or with aversion? Is she to be our willing ally, or another of our many opponents? Our action now will determine our position hereafter; all Englishmen in China are agreed as to that. What they are not agreed upon is what our action should be. Yet, as partition is out of the question, every consideration of political as well as of Christian morality would seem to urge upon us forgiveness rather than vengeance, reconstruction rather than disintegration, a generous assistance rather than the crippling of much-needed reforms by the exaction of enormous indemnities. We are continually told that if we do not pursue what is called a strong policy we shall lose ground in China; but the time for a strong policy has gone by—if it were ever desirable—and a considerate policy is the only means now by which we can hope to regain the influence we have lost. A continuance of the measures we have pursued for the last few years—of threats not followed up by action—will only weaken us still further. Apart, too, from the question of self-interest, is there not such a thing as abstract right and wrong? It may be that to think of *China's* interests, even more than of our own, may be the wisest course to pursue from a purely worldly point of view—may prove to be for us the most paying policy in the long run—and that in the

stricter observance of the principle laid down in the Treaty of Tientsin—that the Christian religion teaches that we should do unto others as we would that they should do unto us—may perchance be found the solution to the intricate problem of our Chinese policy.

CHAPTER XIII

CHARACTER OF BOXER MOVEMENT—BOXER PROCLAMATION—ATTITUDE OF YANGTZE VICEROYS AND OF YUAN-SHIH-KAI—CORDIAL FEELING ENTERTAINED TO CHINA BY FOREIGNERS IN CHINESE SERVICE—IMPERIAL DECREE—DANGER RUN BY FRIENDLY CHINESE—VICEROYS' DECREE PROVIDING FOR SAFETY OF THEIR RESPECTIVE PROVINCES—ACTION OF MR. PELHAM WARREN.

IT must always be kept in view that, at the present moment, there are two entirely distinct and opposed revolutionary movements going on in the interior of China. That of the Boxers in the North, which has enlisted the support of the Empress Dowager, and of the more conservative of the Manchu Princes, is, in reality, a revolt only against the Emperor, and against the efforts of his chosen Ministers and himself to bring about progress and reform. The Boxer watchword is, 'Drive out the foreigners and uphold the dynasty;' it is, in fact, a cry of 'China for the Manchus,' and it is backed up by all the priests, Buddhist, Taoist, and Confucian alike, on account of its anti-Christian as well as its anti-foreign propaganda.

It is a retrograde movement, in which an amelioration of the present state of wretchedness is sought, not in progressive reform, but in a return to the supposed happier condition of simplicity and purity

of a bygone age. 'The figure of men in ancient times,' says a Chinese proverb, 'resembled that of wild beasts, but their hearts contained the most perfect virtue. The outward appearance of the present race of men is human, but their dispositions are utterly brutish.'

It is the dream over again of the French Revolutionaries amidst the corruption of the eighteenth century.

One of the Boxer proclamations, translated for the Japan 'Daily Mail,' is pathetic enough in the truth of its premises, however wrong it may be in its deductions therefrom. It runs thus:—

The Chinese Empire has been celebrated for its sacred teaching. It explained heavenly truth and taught human duties, and its civilising influence spread as an ornament over river and hill. But all this has been changed in an unaccountable manner. For the past five or six generations bad officials have been in trust, bureaus have been opened for the sale of offices, and only those who had money to pay for it have been allowed to hold positions in the Government. The graduation of scholars has become useless, and members of the College of Literature and scholars of the third degree are in obscurity at home. An official position can only be obtained at the price of silver. The Emperor covets the riches of his Ministers; these again extort from the lower ranks of the mandarinate, and the lower mandarins in turn, by the necessity of their position, must extort from the people. The whole populace is sunk in wretchedness, and all the officials are spoilers of their food. The condition of the Yamêns is unspeakable. In every market and in every guild nothing can be done unless money be spent. The officials must be bribed. All sorts

of exactions are made. These officials are full of schemes, none of which are in accordance with the three principles. Having forfeited their heaven-derived dispositions, they are unreasonable and unregulated. They are all alike; ill-gotten wealth is their one object; right has disappeared from the world. There is nothing but squabbling and extortion on all hands, and lawsuits are unnumbered. In the Yamêns it is of no avail to have a clean case; unless you bribe you will lose the day. There is no one to whom the aggrieved may appeal; the simple multitudes are killed with oppression, and their cry goes up to heaven itself, and is heard of God. Though spiritual beings and sages were sent down to teach right principles, to issue good works, and to instruct the multitude, few, alas! heeded. Who is there that understands? The evil go on their course rejoicing, while the spiritual powers are conscious that their teachings have been vain. Now in anger the heavenly powers are sending down multitudes of spirits to earth to make inquiry of all, both high and low. The Emperor himself, the chief offender, has had his succession cut off, and is childless. The whole Court, both civil and military, is in an unspeakable condition. They indulge blindly in mere amusement, and disregard the widow's cry, repenting of nothing and learning nothing good. Greater calamities still have overtaken the nation. Foreign devils come with their teaching, and converts to Christianity, Roman Catholics and Protestants, have become numerous. These are without human relations, but being most cunning they have contracted all the greedy and covetous as converts, and to an unlimited degree they have practised oppression until every good official has been corrupted, and, covetous of foreign wealth, has become their servant. So telegraphs and railways have been established, foreign rifles and guns have been manufactured, and machine shops have been a delight to their vile natures. Locomotives, balloons, electric lamps, the foreign devils think excellent. Though these foreigners ride in sedans unbefitting their rank, China

yet regards them as barbarians, of whom God disapproves and is sending down spirits and genii for their destruction.

To apprehend, indeed, the true condition of affairs in China, a clear perception is, above all things, necessary of the essentially national character of the Boxer uprising; that it is a legitimate revolt against great and undoubted grievances; a movement which has originated with the people, and which has spread from them to their rulers; a movement fostered, it is true, by the Dowager Empress and her clique for their own purposes, until it has become a Frankenstein, impossible for them to control; but a movement viewed from the first with the strongest possible disfavour by many of the viceroys and ruling mandarins, who have since been swept away by the tide of popular passion. This is shown by one or two significant circumstances. When the relief expedition was decided upon, the secretary to Yu Lu, the Viceroy of the province of Chih-li, said that too few men were being taken, that the situation was really more dangerous than it was thought to be, and that to take so small a force would only lead to disaster. A larger force was, unfortunately, not available, but the warning was a friendly one. And Yu Lu himself, up to the moment when hostilities actually began, did all he could to hold the Boxers in check. Again, Liu-Kang-Yi, the enlightened Viceroy of the Liang-Kiang, as soon as the news came from Peking that the Legations were besieged, sent for the Taotai, or

chief magistrate of Shanghai, and told him that if there were the least disturbance in Shanghai he should pay for it with his life; and when three prominent members of the secret association to which the Boxers belong, called upon him to enlist his sympathies on their side, his only response was to have them shown into his courtyard, and there to have their heads taken off. So, too, General Nieh, our chief opponent in Tientsin, did his very best at first to suppress the insurrection. As late as June 4 he defeated the Boxers with a loss of 480 men, but was reprimanded by the Dowager Empress and sent in disgrace to Lutai. The majority of his men, however, were in active sympathy with the Boxers, and refused to fight against them when ordered; for, as in the French Revolution, the popular enthusiasm spread to the troops, and thereafter carried everything before it.

The Yangtze Viceroys from the very beginning held aloof, and Yuan-Shih-Kai not only resisted the orders of the Court to attack and, if possible, retake Tientsin and Taku, but he even employed his army to put down the Boxers when they tried to enter Shantung on October 8; General Mei, who commanded his troops, defeating Chi'en, the Boxer leader, with a loss, it is said, of over 6,000 men, his own force having 300 killed and 600 wounded, and he being severely wounded himself.

It is a matter for lasting regret that in the passion of the hour, in the early days of the outbreak, every

Chinaman should have been looked upon with equal suspicion—a suspicion in which nearly all the Europeans were involved who had been in the service of the Chinese Government, and who, greatly to their credit, refused to believe that the whole of the Chinese officials, with whom they had dealt for years, and for whom they had acquired a lasting regard, were on the same footing as such men as Prince Tuan, Tung Fu H'siang, Yu-H'sien, and others, who, like the demagogues in the French Revolution, had lent themselves to the passions of the mob. It is a significant fact that nearly all the Europeans employed by the Chinese Government, not only in the Customs, but in every other State department, shared this feeling; and the way in which one or two of the most responsible of them were vilified and attacked for daring to say what they thought, and for doing what they could to bring about the adoption of more humane methods, is not pleasant to look back upon. Had their counsels been followed, and those of moderate men, like Mr. Carles, who knew the Chinese well, Tientsin would not have been destroyed and pillaged as it was after its capture, and it would have been a much easier matter to have arranged terms with the Court after the Legations were relieved.

There need have been no delay, no hesitation in the military operations, which would have made the Chinese suspect weakness; only those operations need not have been conducted in the ruthless way they were, and the services of friendly Chinese like

Chang-Yen-Mow, the director of various great commercial enterprises in the North of China, might have been utilised instead of being contumeliously rejected. They were in an exceedingly difficult position, but, nevertheless, many of them did what they were able. One of their generals sent several times to a Russian officer in the Chinese Military College, during the week preceding the outbreak of hostilities, urging him to leave Tientsin without delay, though without giving any reason why; and Chang-Yen-Mow, who was in the Tientsin settlements during the siege, wrote to Jung Lu (who seems to have been the only high official except Prince Ching who, after the execution of the two Ministers who were beheaded for openly expressing their views, still endeavoured to act as a check upon Prince Tuan and General Tung), imploring him to save the Legations if he possibly could. His letter is thought to have had much to do with the strange holding back of the Chinese troops on several occasions when no help was at hand, and it seemed as though nothing could have prevented their immediate destruction.

The extreme danger in which Prince Ching, Jung Lu, and their following were placed may be judged from the Imperial Decree dated June 26, 1900, which is of value also as showing the high courage which Yuan-Shih-Kai and the Yangtze Viceroys displayed in acting as they did. It runs thus:—

I, Ting Chien, have the honour to forward this reverent copy of a Decree received by me on June 27, having

SAND-BAG BARRICADE IN BRITISH LEGATION, PEKING.

OLD CHINESE GUN IN BRITISH LEGATION, PEKING.

been handed out by the Grand Council on June 26, and forwarded at 600 li (200 miles a day) by the Board of War. The reluctance of you Viceroys and Governors, after considering the position and estimating your strength, to provoke foreign enmity lightly may well be the policy of tried Ministers consulting the interests of their State.

But, unfortunately, in the present case the Boxer bands have spread over the whole capital, and their numbers are not less than several hundred thousand. From soldiers and people up to princely and ducal palaces, from all alike, comes one cry of hatred of the foreign religion: the two cannot exist together. Repression meant intestine trouble and the utter ruin of the people. The only course, therefore, was to turn the movement to account, while slowly devising reformation. The warning in your memorial not to endanger the State by believing their heretical talk leaves out of account the helpless position in which the Court is placed. Did ye Viceroys and Governors realise how great is the crisis in the capital, ye would surely be unable to eat and sleep in peace, and so anxious to do your duty that ye would never think of making one-sided representations. The present state of things is one in which the incitement and pressure of providential opportunity and human affairs have combined to render war inevitable. Do not any of ye Viceroys and Governors longer hesitate and look on, but with all speed provide troops and supplies, and vigorously protect the territories. For any remissness it is ye that shall be called to account.

Had Yuan-Shih-Kai acted on this Decree, and moved to the support of Tientsin (which was not taken until July 14) before the bulk of the foreign troops arrived, he could have easily cut the communication between Taku and Tientsin, and have made the relief of the Legations, humanly speaking, an impossibility. So far from doing this, he, in a

memorial published in the 'Peking Gazette' of July 13, in response to an order to send troops to Peking, evaded doing so by pointing out that the troops under his command were only just sufficient to defend his own province of Shantung; that he had sent 7,000 men to guard against any possible attack by German troops at Ching-Tao, and that twenty camps (nominally 10,000 men) had been sent to the south-west of the province to prevent his communications with the south of the Grand Canal being cut by the enemy. He further pointed out that the coast was thus left practically undefended, and that he was forming four camps in the west of the province, to be stationed at a point opposite Taku which he considered threatened. He also referred to the lack of funds. In other words, whilst professing to comply with the Imperial Decree, he declined to send troops from his province northwards to meet the Allied forces—a truly momentous decision, which might have cost him his head, Prince Tuan's party not being inclined to show any mercy to their political opponents.

In August, when the Ministers Hsu-Ching-Cheng and Yuan-Cheng were beheaded in Peking, Li-Ping-Heng, one of Prince Tuan's prominent adherents, also impeached both the Yangtze Viceroys who, in response to the foregoing Decree, had taken a step quite as opposed as Yuan-Shih-Kai's to the wishes of the party then in the ascendency. They had issued a Decree, which is of such vital importance that it ought to be set out at length.

The Edicts transmitted from Peking were quite evidently not Imperial Edicts—not the Edicts, that is to say, of any individual ruler, but those of the dominant party of the hour; and so the Viceroys chose to treat them. The Decree which was issued in the joint names of Chang-Chih-Tung and of Yu, the Governor of Hupeh, with the concurrence of Lui-Kun-yi, is as follows:—

Whereas in the North the disturbances of ruffians having led to a rupture with the Powers, men's minds are agitated, and the political situation involved.

And whereas we had the honour to receive, on June 25th and 26th, transmitted Decrees, to the effect that at present in the capital every effort continued to be made to protect the Legations of the Powers, and that the viceroys and governors of the provinces must take such measures as in their judgment the crisis necessitated to preserve their territories; and whereas it is, of course, our duty to devise means to carry out reverently these Imperial orders, we have, with his Excellency Liu, Viceroy of the Liang-Kiang Provinces, carefully devised a scheme to preserve the integrity of the South-eastern Provinces.

That is to say, we have agreed with the Consuls of the Powers, that provided only the naval squadrons of the fleets of the Powers do not enter the Yangtze, the local authorities shall do their utmost to protect the lives and property of all foreigners in our provinces. And we have reported to the Throne by telegraph the successful negotiation of this scheme. This is a perfect plan to safeguard the lives of individuals and families of the people of these parts. But, as it is quite possible that until the present scheme, as reported to the Throne, is understood among the populace, local ruffians and wicked folk may find pretexts to stir up trouble to the detriment of the public interests, we therefore

hasten to issue this notice for the information of all classes —civilians and military alike.

Know ye that the present hostilities in the North were not intended or expected by the Court, and that the present Imperial orders, that in the capital the Legations continued to be protected, and in the provinces at present the concessions and chapels are still to be protected in accordance with the treaty provisions promulgated year after year, are both designed to maintain the public interest intact. Now that the Powers are willing to leave protection to us, and to keep the naval squadrons of the fleets out of the Yangtze, the inhabitants and trade may both remain as undisturbed as usual, and local ruffians will not have a chance to make disturbance. Very many are the blessings secured by thus safeguarding the lives of individuals and families of the people in the Yangtze and inland provinces, and utterly wrong would it be lightly to give cause for strife.

Thus may we humbly embody the desire of the Court to see to the integrity of the State.

From the date of this notification, should any concoct lying tales, and delude men's minds, or assemble crowds, and disturb the concessions and chapels, they shall be straightly sought out and dealt with as local bandits and secret society ruffians.

At every point strong forces have been posted promptly to extirpate such evil scoundrels as seek pretexts to stir up disturbances, with the design of starting riots.

Should soldiers or police make trouble, or be guilty of violence, they will at once be punished under martial law.

Our aim is by keeping the people and traders undisturbed, and maintaining the peace of the country, to second humbly the meaning of the Imperial commands, to preserve our territories by such measures as in our judgment the crisis necessitates.

Let all obey in fear and trembling this special urgent proclamation.

Most thoroughly have the Viceroys carried out

what they proposed. All last summer, in the midst of the fighting in the North, foreign steamers traded up and down the Yangtze undisturbed. This was only rendered possible by the loyal co-operation with the Viceroys of Mr. Pelham Warren, the acting Consul-General in Shanghai, who, whilst Sir Claude Macdonald was cut off in Peking from communication with the outside world, assumed the guidance of British affairs in China. To his cool head and sound judgment Shanghai probably owed its immunity from attack or from a sudden rising. He it was who insisted that neither the Woosung Forts nor the Shanghai Arsenal should be attacked, but that they should be left to the Viceroy to control. The event has proved how right he was—how any step of that kind (and it was urged with great vehemence) would have precipitated a crisis, of which the consequences might have been unspeakably terrible. It is rather the fashion to sneer at the Chinese Consular Service, as behind the times, and not sufficiently pushing in the interests of our Chinese commerce; but its members acted nobly when the emergency arose; and their ingrained sympathy with, and belief in the Chinese as a people, begotten of long years of friendly intercourse, proved to be of incalculable service in preventing panic, and in restraining the demand for an indiscriminate and unreasoning vengeance.

CHAPTER XIV

SUN-YAT-SUN AND THE REBELLION IN THE SOUTH—KANG-YU-WEI AND HIS REFORM PROPOSALS — CHINESE ASPIRATIONS—LORD ELGIN'S DESPATCH WITH REGARD TO EXECUTIONS—POSITION OF THE YANGTZE VICEROYS—DEMANDS OF THE MINISTERS—RESULT OF POLICY PURSUED BY THE POWERS—GENERAL OUTLOOK IN CHINA — LIKELIHOOD OF FURTHER DISTURBANCE — PROBABLE FUTURE OF TRADE.

BUT though the revolution in the North is avowedly retrograde and conservative, that in the South of China, which has already assumed alarming proportions, is professedly anti-dynastic, and in favour both of foreigners and of progress. It is led by Sun-Yat-Sun, an energetic reformer, whom the Chinese Government made an unsuccessful attempt to seize in London two years ago. He has raised the standard of revolt in the country to the north of Canton, and all over the south of China men are flocking to join him. His aim, he declares, is to overthrow the present Manchu dynasty and to establish a Chinese dynasty in its stead. What he wants is 'China for the Chinese.' This movement is not likely to become general—not, at least, so long as the Emperor remains alive, for the vast majority of the Chinese have the keenest feeling of loyalty and affection for him, not only because he is the Emperor, the lawful Son of

Heaven, but because they think he is a good man, who has tried to do his best for his country in the face of terrible difficulties. But if he were to die there is no knowing what might happen. There is a prophecy that the present dynasty will come to an end with his reign, which is not improbable of fulfilment, as he has no heir. The only thing that is certain is that there is a strong feeling of personal devotion to him, at any rate all over the north and centre of China, which will hold any anti-dynastic movement in check for the present.

This feeling is not to be wondered at when one recalls the noble outburst which Kang-Yu-Wei has ascribed to him. It may be read in full in that Reformer's extremely interesting article in the 'Contemporary Review' of August 1899:—

Let the farce of ruling go; let poison come, let assassination come. With death I shall deliver up my imperial charge. With death I shall report to my ancestors. With death I shall be worthy of my four hundred million subjects. I would rather be assassinated like the Emperor Chang Tsung, of the Tang dynasty, than be a prince under a foreign yoke, or have my life spared as a foreign menial, and bear the disgrace of a lost empire. From the time I was made to rule, now ten years ago, I have secretly been longing all the time for an opportunity to act. I hated the idea of losing Annam. Again, I was indignant at being shorn of Manchuria and Formosa; and a third time I was indignant at being shorn of Kiao-Chau and Port Arthur. As for the rest, being shorn of the principalities of the aborigines in the south, the concessions of railways, river navigation, mines, trade, military power, &c., I cherished indignation and veiled myself in shame. My mind being

full of indignation, I deeply pondered over all the circumstances, and I saw no other way but to risk my life on behalf of the Empire.

All that has recently occurred tends more and more to prove that what the foreign ambassadors called the Kang-Yu-Wei conspiracy (which they did their best to suppress, looking upon Kang-Yu-Wei as a dangerous enthusiast) was in reality a conspiracy of the Empress Dowager and certain of the Manchu Princes against the Emperor and the reform movement which he was endeavouring to initiate, and that the tragic fate which has overtaken Peking has been due in great measure to the ambassadors having given their support and countenance to the Empress Dowager and her associates, and not to the lawful sovereign in his extremity. Kang-Yu-Wei's reform proposals (which the Emperor had definitely decided to adopt), for which at the time he was stigmatised as a crack-brained visionary, were not, indeed, a whit more sweeping than those which are now being urged on behalf of the Powers; and they could have been carried out then with the concurrence of the whole nation, whereas now they will have to be forced upon an unwilling people, and a sullen Court, and will only be brought into operation, if at all, after the spilling of much innocent blood. The main difference between the two sets of proposals is, that the one had for its object the opening of China for the benefit of the Chinese people, whilst the other proposes to do it for the benefit mainly of foreign trade.

For in China, as in Africa and in the Western world, we find ourselves confronted with the question of syndicates, and concessions, and monopolies. 'Again, the foreigners are prepared,' said Kang-Yu-Wei, 'to work the mines, and every nation seeks concessions, so that all is given away to other people. If not, then our own selfish merchants rush in and arrange with corrupt mandarins, so that the mines of every province are in the hands of expectant officials who, though absent, draw salaries as directors. Thus the nation's wealth is wasted, and the opening of mines is worse than not opening them.'

Instead of discrediting Kang-Yu-Wei, it would have served British interests better to have given the Emperor the assistance of the advice which he sought in vain from any one except the Rev. Timothy Richards, so that he might have carried out quietly the reforms which Kang-Yu-Wei induced him to attempt with such insane precipitation. With all these fermenting elements of discord, a speedy settlement of affairs in China must not be looked for. If the Powers wished for that, they have gone to work the wrong way to obtain it. They ought to have adhered rigorously to the fiction that they are not, and never have been, at war with China, but only with the Boxers; and as soon as the Legations were relieved they should have done everything to induce the Emperor to return to Peking, and assume once more the lawful position and authority from which they helped the Empress Dowager to oust him in 1898.

They ought to have re-established a stable Government as rapidly as possible. Instead of that, they have slaughtered and threatened, and done everything calculated to maintain the state of chaos into which the country was thrown, until the revolutionary movement in the South seems not unlikely to grow beyond the control, both of the Powers, and of the Chinese Government, even if they were to work together, as they did when they put down the Taiping Rebellion.

How widespread this Southern rebellion may eventually become, if not checked, may be gathered from the following extract from a remarkable letter which appeared in the 'Hong-Kong Daily Press' on October 6 last:—

> We are not 'Boxers'—we are members of that great political society of Masons commonly known as Triads, whose senior and junior members at home and abroad have sworn to oust the barbarous Manchu usurpers from the throne of our fatherland and reinstate a Chinese ruler. We number countless millions, and our able brethren in America, the Sandwich Islands, Australia, the Straits Settlements, Siam, Indo-China, the Dutch Archipelago, &c., are only waiting for the grand signal. We are reformers. After we have accomplished our work we will institute beneficial reforms and throw the country open to the trade of the world. We cannot prevent bloodshed, as Heaven wills that all great political and national changes shall be dearly purchased.

Letters such as this, and proclamations such as Sun-Yat-Sun has issued, in which he refers with shame to the dismemberment of the Empire, to the

loss of Peking and Tientsin, to the taking of the Taku Forts, and the flight of the Emperor, show how futile it is to suppose that—as we are constantly assured is the case—news of what happens in one part of China does not percolate to other parts of the country. The telegraph has done away now with all possibility of concealment. The Japanese war, it is true, did not excite much interest, because the Chinese looked upon it as a local struggle between the Viceroy of Chih-li and the Japanese. It never roused intense national enthusiasm as the Boxer movement has done. That is what makes the present crisis so serious. The state of unrest is increasing every day, and is spreading over the whole of China, and there is no foretelling where it may stop, or to what lengths it may go.

But although the British Government might have given Kang-Yu-Wei effective support when he was the Emperor's trusted adviser, it is debarred from doing so now, when he is in active opposition to the Court. Mr. Warren, the acting Consul-General in Shanghai, telegraphed to Lord Salisbury on August 25, 1900, making this quite distinct:—

> The Chinese party known as the Reform party, of whom Kang-Yu-Wei is at the head, are at the present seeking to create disturbances in the ports on the Yangtse by stirring up the Kolao-hai and other secret societies. The reformers declare that they bear no ill-will towards progress; that the restoration of the Emperor, and overthrow of the present dynasty, is their aim. At Hankow, some forty members of the Reform party have been arrested, and

several have been beheaded. I have given the leading men to understand that if they adopt such courses they can expect no sympathy from Her Majesty's Government, who are pledged to give their support to the Viceroys in their endeavours to support peace and order.

It is clear that Great Britain can only seek to bring about the desired reforms through the medium of the Yangtze Viceroys. To adopt any other method would not only be to act dishonourably to them, but would lead to all kinds of complications and difficulties.

If, as there seems good reason to believe, this Southern revolt is extending into the Yangtze Valley, the consequences to Europe, in the stoppage of trade, and the difficulty of restoring anything like stability of government in the interior, may be so momentous as to bring about an entire reversal of the present political equilibrium in the East—a reversal from which China *may* emerge as capable of standing by herself, of resisting foreign dictation, as Japan now is. Who would have ventured to prophecy in 1860 that Japan would ever have attained to her present position? Yet the Chinese have quite as much aptitude as the Japanese, and the latter declare that the former would have gone through a like process of regeneration at the same time that they, the Japanese, did if Great Britain had not interfered to put down the Taiping Rebellion. If now they avail themselves of the aid which Japan is willing, and indeed eager, to render, the next fifty

years may quite conceivably see the rise of a China as great in adaptability as Japan, and with infinitely greater resources at her command.

The more enlightened of the Chinese hope that their country may yet, like Japan, show itself capable of assimilating Western civilisation. They do not believe that China with its vast mass of people, knit together by a common written language, by the same historical traditions, by common religious beliefs, can ever be effectually broken up. They have a quaint proverb, 'Long join, short split; short join, long split,' by which they imply that, when a people split up, who have been one people for a long, long time, the split will not be lasting—they will come together again before long; but that when peoples are divided, who have only been a short time united, the division will be permanent. The Western nations, they say, may conquer China, may rend it asunder, but in time they will be driven out, and the Chinese will become once again the same great and undivided people. One of the modernised Shanghai Chinamen said, just after the revolt came to a head, 'China cannot be destroyed—she is too big for that; but she will have to pay dearly for her present folly—she will have to pass under European tutelage for a certain period, until she has learnt how to govern herself in accordance with modern ideas.'

If we are sincere in our professions of friendship for China, in our desire to see her strengthened and her integrity maintained, we ought to insist that the

Emperor should be given practical and effectual support in the reforms he has always desired to introduce; and if possible these reforms should be made to seem to proceed from the Chinese Government, and not from the foreign Powers. This would, to use their own expressive phrase, 'save the face' of the Chinese Government, and make the reforms acceptable, instead of repugnant, to the people—a matter of vital importance to the future security of foreign trade; for treaty provisions with the Chinese Government, for the opening up of the interior, will be of no avail if the present hostile attitude of the Chinese, as a people, be strengthened rather than diminished.

From every point of view, political and commercial as well as ethical, the demand for excessive punishment has been most injurious. The one thing to be desired, for the re-establishment of order in the Northern Provinces, was the return of the Court to Peking. This we have now made exceedingly difficult, the greater part of the Imperial Palace, and of the palaces of the Manchu Princes, having been despoiled or laid in ruins; and, a more serious matter still, the nine ancestral tablets of the Imperial House have been removed from the Temple of Heaven. This, so the Chinese say, will make the return of the Court very problematical. Added to this there has been the demand for the execution of a great number of the very persons in whose power the Emperor and Empress now are, and that their execution should precede any negotiations for a final settlement. Japan,

America, and Russia have from the first recognised the futility of these demands; but Great Britain, greatly to her own detriment, has acted in conjunction with Germany, though nothing could have been more prejudicial to her position in China.

It would have been wise to have sent out some man of eminence, like Lord Elgin, as a plenipotentiary—some man who could take a broad and statesmanlike view of the whole situation on the spot, and empowered to come to some definite decision without continual reference to his Government. Unfortunately, with the telegraph, there has set in an era of centralisation, and the British Government, in its attitude to Germany, has evidently been swayed by the traditional suspicion of Russia which is so apparent in its Eastern policy.

Consequently, hampered as it has been, by the necessity of conceding something to the German wishes, it has treated this question of punishment in a very different way from that in which it was dealt with by Lord Elgin.

After stating his objection to inflicting a mere money compensation for the treacherous murders of which the Chinese Government had been guilty, Lord Elgin, in the despatch, in which he gave his reasons for burning the Summer Palace, proceeds thus:—

> Or I might have required that the persons guilty of cruelty to our countrymen or of the violation of a flag of truce shall be surrendered. But if I had made this demand in general terms some miserable subordinate would have

been given up, whom it would have been difficult to pardon and impossible to punish; and if I had specified San-ko-lin-sin, of whose guilt in violating the flag of truce evidence sufficient to cause his condemnation by a court-martial could be furnished, I should have made a demand which, it may be confidently affirmed, the Chinese Government would not have conceded, and mine could not have enforced.

Such considerations seem to have been lost sight of by most of the Ministers assembled in Peking, the majority of whom seem to have only thought of inflicting the greatest possible humiliation on the Chinese Court, regardless of the future consequences to China. The result has been that the return of the Court has been indefinitely postponed; that the state of anarchy in the Northern Provinces has been needlessly prolonged, thereby causing the death of hundreds of thousands of innocent people by famine after the sword had done its work; and that, after all, the persons who have been most guilty will ultimately be enabled to escape. Anything more inconsistent and less likely to succeed than the policy of cajoling the Yangtze Viceroys, and at the same time pressing for punishments of which they strongly disapprove, cannot well be conceived. The impracticable stipulation for the execution of persons connected with the Royal Family has only made the Chinese less inclined to treat with the Powers on a reasonable basis, and it has intensified the bitterness felt against Europeans all over China. The Court have accurately gauged the impotence of the Powers to enforce these demands,

and are only prevaricating to gain time; they may nominally accept the proposed conditions, but they will assuredly find some means of evading them.

It would seem to have been wiser, looking back on all that has occurred, to have done as Lord Elgin did —to have inflicted some short and sharp punishment, and then to have withdrawn the troops, and to have forced the Chinese Government to come to terms by cutting off their supplies from the coast. And the British Government need not have refused the forts on the Yangtze. As it is, they have exposed the Yangtze Viceroys to a suspicion that may some day endanger their safety, without in any way affording them the protection they were entitled to in response for their action.

They were thereby placed in an undesirable position of antagonism to the Court and to Li Hung Chang, who was generally believed to be acting in the interest of Russia; whilst the measures they took for the protection of their provinces have made them obnoxious to the other Powers.

There is plenty of evidence that they are in disfavour with the Court. On October 13 an Imperial Decree was issued, in reply to a petition from the Viceroy Liu-Kung-Yi and others, praying for the return of the Court to Peking, in which it was stated that the language of the memorialists was wanting in sympathy with the Imperial Court in its great distress, and adding that so soon as the Allied Powers ceased to prefer demands with which China could not possibly

comply, and so soon as they concluded a treaty showing genuine recognition of China's sovereignty, so soon would the Court return. The language of the Decree is interesting:—

> But only let the Foreign Powers show sincerity in their desire for peace—let them not take away our independence of action, or forcibly insist on our performing those things which we cannot do—then, as soon as the negotiations are carried out, we will surely on that very day give notice of the day of our departure back to Peking. Our present journey to H'sian was originally intended as a temporary measure, concerning which we have given due notice by a former Decree. This was a step which force of circumstances compelled us to undergo, with all the terrible suffering to ourselves, and this we feel sure all our officials and people throughout the Empire clearly know and sympathise with.

Nearly all the demands made by the Ministers, when examined, will be found to be difficult to enforce. That, for instance, for the execution of Prince Tuan, of Tung-Fu-H'siang, and of other great officials, is in effect a demand addressed to those personages, in whose power the Court is, that they shall voluntarily surrender themselves to the headsman. Then, again, the indemnities are excessive, and there will be no machinery available to enforce them; for the Yangtze Viceroys will naturally object to supervision, and after the way in which they have behaved it will be out of the question to compel them by force to put up with. Equally impracticable is the demand for the abolition of provincial examinations in anti-foreign

GATE OF THE FORBIDDEN CITY, PEKING.

THE CHIEN MEN, ONE OF THE GATES OF THE TARTAR CITY, PEKING.

localities. This will strike at the fundamental principle of Chinese political life, for no man can attain to distinction in the State except through the medium of examinations. The system is more than two thousand years old, and to interfere with it violently in the way proposed will cause the most dangerous irritation. The Ministers seem to have thought it would produce a chastened spirit. But many men who know China well declare that it is an unjust measure, which is much more likely to produce a long-enduring and carefully cherished enmity, for it is a punishment that will fall heavily on numbers of entirely innocent persons.

Of the same nature is the demand for total disarmament. In the first place, it is utterly futile. There are enormous arsenals at Foochow and Shanghai, and even if they are destroyed it will be impossible to prevent the establishment of others in the interior, or to control the importation of arms from the various ports, unless the Powers are prepared to maintain a permanent fleet (with dangerous possibilities of international disagreement) to constantly patrol the coast to keep down smuggling. Apart from that, if China is disarmed how is she to defend herself from attack, or to maintain order amongst her own population? A moment's consideration will show the absurdity of the proposal, unless, indeed, the Powers propose to guarantee the integrity of China, and are willing to undertake the policing of it internally. What is it that has been

most prejudicial to trade in the immediate past? The danger from lawlessness and disorder.

> The merchants (of Hankow) (says Lord Charles Beresford) declared that the local government was quite unable to control the people. . . . The British merchants declared that British trade and commerce were seriously hampered, as the Chinese merchants refused to do any business under these circumstances, and that future development of trade was impossible. The whole question resolves itself into the want of military and police.[1]

Most of our difficulties have arisen from the fact that neither the Americans nor ourselves sent a sufficiency of troops at the outset. After the Taku Forts were taken it was announced that 10,000 men were to be embarked at once from India, and that President McKinley had ordered the despatch of an equal number from the Philippines. That would have made a total force of 20,000 men, and with the 20,000 sent by the Japanese it would have been possible to keep the direction of the campaign entirely in American, Japanese, and British hands, and to have prevented the punitive expeditions and the laying waste of the country, which have done such irreparable damage, both to our trade and to our political reputation. Instead of that, only 3,200 Indian troops came up to Tientsin with General Gaselee, and 2,000 American troops with General Chaffee, America being hampered in the Philippines just as Great Britain is in South Africa. This,

[1] *Break-up of China*, p. 150.

naturally enough, annoyed the Japanese, who, in their chronic state of irritation with Russia over Corea, had no wish to be thrust into the prominent position they were obliged by the necessities of the case to assume.

Then came the refusal of the British Government to back up the Yangtze Viceroys effectively (although they were willing to advance them money) by occupying the Kiang-Yin Forts, when that might have been done without fear of opposition from the other Powers. The net result has been that our credit with the Chinese has sunk to a very low ebb.

There are two courses that are now open to us: either to take part in the general partition of China, to which a continuance of the present state of disorganisation is tending; or to stand by China in her resistance to it. Russia already possesses Manchuria; and if Germany, as it was rumoured she proposed to do, should seize Chin-Kiang, an important strategic point where the Grand Canal enters the Yangtze, on the southern border of Shantung, she will obtain a yet stronger grip of that province, in which she has already acquired a footing by the occupation of Kiao-Chau. France has always had designs of territorial acquisition in the South, and Japan has gained a firm foothold in Fu-Kien. All our interests are antagonistic to this partition, and if we had thrown in our lot at the beginning of the revolution with America and Japan, we could have prevented any possibility of it; but now, if France and

Germany and Russia should deem it to their interest to occupy territory rather than accept a money indemnity, and if Japan and America are both uncertain of the policy we intend finally to adopt, it is possible the Powers may drift into partition, whilst all the time protesting that they do not desire it.

Should it come to partition, no Power will suffer so much as ourselves. All that we can do is to stand aside. It is true we have always asserted that the Yangtze Valley is exclusively within our sphere of interest, but the other Powers have long since ceased to regard it in that light. And we have so hampered ourselves in South Africa, where we presumably shall have to keep a large garrison for years to come, we could not possibly occupy it, as we have occupied Egypt, even if we wished to do so, though that is being constantly urged upon us by the forward party in China. That is one good thing the Transvaal war has brought us: it has kept us from rashly plunging into an enterprise which might well have proved as disastrous to us as the occupation of Sicily did to the Athenians.

What, however, we can do is to stand loyally by the Yangtze Viceroys, who have stood so loyally by us; and in our own interests would not that be the wisest course to pursue?

A disintegrating China will be a perpetual menace to peace all over the East, and to our own security in India; whereas a strengthened China would be India's most effectual bulwark.

The danger to India is not a fanciful one; it is very real. Before many years are over, Russia and France will certainly endeavour to effect a junction by means of the Peking-Hankow, Hankow-Canton, and Tonquin-Yunnan railways (of which the practical control has already passed into Franco-Russian hands), thereby gaining the mastery of the whole of the interior of China from north to south, and seriously imperilling the frontiers of Burma, and of India proper. The following letter shows how persistently and assiduously France is pursuing her aims in Yunnan, how she means to push on methodically with her railway there in spite of the poverty of the country.

M. François, Consul général de France, en Mission au Yunnan, à M. Delcassé, Ministre des Affaires étrangères.

Yunnansen, le 21 juin 1901.

J'ai eu l'honneur, par le précédent courrier, de vous présenter la situation du Yunnan, telle que je l'ai aperçue, dès mon arrivée dans cette capitale.

Depuis l'envoi de mes premières dépêches, j'ai eu l'occasion de m'entretenir fréquemment avec les Mandarins. Tout ce que j'ai observé me confirme pleinement dans les opinions que j'ai consignées dans mes communications antérieures.

L'ancien trésorier provincial Li, neveu de Li-Hong-Tchang, qui, l'an dernier, s'était montré notre adversaire, avait été désigné pour administrer le Kouang-Si, où il était nommé gouverneur.

Or cette nomination au Kouang-Si se transforme tout à coup. Li demeure bien au Yunnan, en qualité de gouverneur, et Ting, le gouverneur actuel, est envoyé à Kouei-Lin.

J'ai avisé télégraphiquement notre Ministre à Pékin de cette mutation imprévue.

M. Beau m'a fait connaître qu'il avait fait entretenir Li-Hong-Tchang d'une situation que nous ne pouvions considérer favorablement et que Li lui avait répondu en se portant garant des dispositions futures de son neveu auquel il envoyait des instructions toutes personnelles.

Li a, en effet, depuis lors, reçu des avertissements sérieux; il m'a fait exprimer le désir de me rendre la première visite, et, dans l'entretien que j'ai eu avec lui, il m'a adressé les plus vives protestations d'amitié et témoigné de son désir ardent d'une entente cordiale avec le représentant de la France.

Dans mes conversations avec Li, avec Ting, et avec chacun des membres du Conseil provincial, tous ces mandarins m'ont déclaré vouloir dissiper le malentendu qui s'était élevé l'an dernier et qui avait pris naissance dans la crainte inspirée par les projets du Gouvernement de l'Indo-Chine.

'Le Yunnan,' m'a-t-on répété partout, à satiété, 'diffère beaucoup des autres provinces de l'Empire. L'administration régulière ne s'y fait pas sentir depuis longtemps et l'autorité des mandarins est loin d'y être complète. L'idée d'un chemin de fer a tout d'abord troublé les populations au point que nous n'avons pu maîtriser le mouvement, et c'est pourquoi nous vous sommes reconnaissants, à vous, tout personnellement, d'avoir clairement démontré que vous ne recherchiez pas les complications qui eussent rendu la guerre inévitable, et nous vous demandons d'exprimer encore notre gratitude au Gouvernement Français d'avoir bien voulu vous renvoyer sans troupes.

'A présent vous êtes revenu sans soldats, vos discours sont tout à fait rassurants, répandent la satisfaction dans la population, et dissiperont la défiance. Nous arriverons de cette manière à persuader aux habitants de la province de ne plus mettre obstacle à des travaux dont ils pourront tirer un grand bien.

'Mais dites bien à votre Gouvernement que les gens de cette région sont ignorants plus qu'ailleurs, qu'il est nécessaire pour les convaincre, d'agir avec prudence, de ne pas engager d'entreprises prématurées qu'ils ne peuvent pas comprendre. Si les travaux du chemin de fer se déroulent régulièrement, progressivement, par le moyen d'une Compagnie, et si la population vous voit, comme en ce moment, traiter les affaires ouvertement avec ses mandarins, et que les choses s'accomplissent d'accord avec ses fonctionnaires, elle ne concevra plus de soupçons sur vos projets et nous n'aurons plus d'inquiétudes. Avant tout, il faut que ce peuple s'instruise. Ce que vous nous dites d'écoles, d'hôpitaux et de plusieurs autres institutions très utiles sera accueilli favorablement dans la foule, et nous-mêmes nous songeons à créer pour notre propre usage des cours de français.'

J'ai parlé avec Li des affaires des mines et de la venue prochaine d'un représentant de nos syndicats. J'ai trouvé dans cet ordre d'idées un terrain tout préparé aux négociations. Je crois ne pas trop m'avancer en disant que ce représentant est attendu et désiré. L'affaire des mines portera en entier sur la part de bénéfices que le syndicat réservera à la Province. Li s'en est ouvert avec moi aussi complètement que possible. 'Il faut,' m'a-t-il dit, 'que le Syndicat sache intéresser à ses opérations la population et l'administration de cette Province qui est dénuée de toute ressource en raison de sa pauvreté agricole.'

Enfin, il m'a fait part d'une idée qu'il ne mettrait à exécution qu'avec mon assentiment. Il remarque que les affaires de mission ne prennent d'importance et ne s'envenimment souvent que par un défaut d'entente et de relations entre nos missionnaires et les mandarins locaux. Il désirerait qu'une action parallèle s'exerçât à cet égard, d'un côté, par lui sur ses subordonnés, et, d'autre part, par l'évêque sur ses vicaires. Il y a là une question intéressante que j'étudierai dès l'arrivée de Mgr Excoffirr. Mais il ressort déjà dès différents contrats que j'ai obtenus, la

résolution bien arrêtée de ne traiter désormais qu'avec le Représentant des Affaires étrangères. Je sens les effets de la nouvelle conduite adoptée dans toutes les petites choses même. L'an dernier, on affectait de m'ignorer, on prenait plaisir à négocier de tout et avec des agents sans qualité, et précisément parce qu'ils étaient sans qualité. Aujourd'hui toutes les affaires me sont renvoyées et les mandarins ne se permettent aucune décision sans m'en référer d'abord et sans m'en prévenir ensuite.

C'est là, Monsieur le Ministre, un résultat que je me permets de signaler à votre attention et que tous mes efforts tendront à maintenir.

Je répète ici, M. le Ministre, avec plus de conviction que dans mes dernières lettres, que le développement de nos intérêts économiques dans cette région me paraît assuré pacifiquement, et qu'il peut prendre rapidement un grand essor. Cette situation ne comporte qu'un peu de prudence, quelque patience, l'action continue de nos industriels, *la construction méthodique de notre chemin de fer* et l'octroi de quelques subsides nécessaires à l'implantation des instituteurs qui rendent ici notre influence prépondérante.

The aims of Russia and France, and, to some extent, of Germany, are territorial, whereas those of Great Britain and America are commercial. An understanding between the two last-named countries and Japan would save China from partition, even if the revolution in the interior should increase in violence; and it would do more than anything else to restore the equilibrium of the different Powers.

But the immediate outlook in China is black. Not only has the trade of the North been ruined, but that of Shanghai has suffered also, and is suffering still. The political aspect is not hopeful, and decentralisa-

tion is proceeding apace. At any moment foreign intervention may once more become necessary, and it will be disastrous if we have to play again the subordinate part we chose deliberately to accept last year.

Troops will be required directly matters become critical; not to seize territory, but to enforce a considerate policy towards China, a policy in which we should have Japan and America with us if we were to speak out plainly, and were to make it unmistakeable that we intended to act up to our declarations.

At any moment the necessity for action may arise. If Russia, or France, or Germany should insist upon cession of territory in lieu of the indemnities for which they are pressing; or if the Yangtze Viceroys should refuse to admit the liability of their provinces to contribute thereto; or if either of the Viceroys should die—and they are both old men. Mr. Warren, in a telegram dated September 23, 1900, gave this warning:—'Chang-Chih-Tung remains staunch in his determination to maintain order, although surrounded by anti-foreign advisers. *Peace in Central China depends on the life of this aged official, and we should be prepared for eventualities.*'

If either of these contingencies should occur, what part is Great Britain going to play? Hitherto she has been the leading Power in China. Is she quietly going to abdicate from that position, or does she mean to be so still? Our interests there are changing in character, but they are not necessarily growing

less. The total European population in 1898 was only 13,421, of whom 5,148 were British; and of a total of 773 mercantile houses doing business at the Treaty Ports, 398 were British, and nearly 70 per cent. of the trade was in their hands. But as the Chinese acquire European knowledge they will, like the Japanese, enter into direct trade relations with other countries, and will no longer deal exclusively with the foreign merchants in China, through whose agency it has up till now been conducted. This need not necessarily produce a diminution of trade; it may only mean that the bulk of it will be diverted into other channels. In Japan, where this change has been very marked, the trade has increased in quite an extraordinary way from 177,970,036 yen in 1893 to 443,255,909 yen in 1898, and it is anticipated that the abolition of extra-territoriality in 1899 will give it a still greater stimulus. There is no reason why the Chinese trade should not develop in like measure, for the Chinese are essentially a nation of traders. And not only may there be a vastly increased trade between China and India, as well as between China and Great Britain, but every year, with the rapidly developing navigation of the Pacific Ocean, as China opens up, there will be increased possibilities of trade with the British Colonies—with Canada, with Australia, with New Zealand, and with the Polynesian Islands. Only it is a delusion to think that this trade will be restricted, as it has been heretofore, to a narrow circle—that it will be the

Pactolus for a few wealthy firms. An awakened China, like already awakened Japan, will mean a competing China, producing and manufacturing within her own borders sufficient, not only for her own needs, but for export also.

Lord Elgin spoke some wise words to the merchants of Shanghai in 1860:—

> One word, gentlemen, in conclusion, as to the parts we have respectively to play in this important work, and more especially with reference to the last sentence of your address, in which you express the trust that the result of my exertions may be more fully to develop the vast resources of China and to extend among the people the elevating influences of a higher civilisation. The expectations held out to British manufacturers at the close of the last war between Great Britain and China, when they were told that a new world was open to their trade, so vast that all the mills in Lancashire could not make stocking-stuff sufficient for one of its provinces, have not been realised; and I am of opinion that when force and diplomacy shall have done all they can legitimately effect, the work which has to be accomplished in China will be but at its commencement. The manufacturing West will be in the presence of a population the most universally and laboriously manufacturing of any on the earth. It can achieve victories in the contest in which it will have to engage only by proving that physical knowledge and mechanical skill applied to the arts of production are more than a match for the most persevering efforts of unscientific industry. This is the task which is before you.

Since Lord Elgin spoke the mills of Shanghai, as well as of Japan, have shown that we have no longer unscientific industry alone to compete with, but

that the Chinese, like the Japanese, are adept pupils in the mechanical arts, and that in the near future the West will have to face a keen industrial competition from the East. There is no reason why this should not lead to a very large resultant trade, like the trade between all civilised countries; but it may safely be predicted that it will be a trade on a very different basis from that which is so confidently anticipated when the vast wealth-producing possibilities of China are held up to our cupidity. Treat China fairly: do not insist upon her taking the opium which she declares is deteriorating and impoverishing her people; do not force our religion upon her, with the certainty of strife; deal with her gently both as to the amount of the indemnities, and the manner of their payment; and stand loyally by her, even to the extent of taking up arms on her behalf, if her integrity is threatened, and the resultant return will be great.

Continue to treat her as we have treated her in the past, and our trade will inevitably suffer. We may make railways through the country; we may compel her to open her waterways to foreign navigation, and to permit her mines to be exploited by foreign capital, but unless we can secure the confidence of the people, as a people, our trade must and will decline.

Be firm with the Chinese Government, and inflexible when a matter of principle is in dispute, but be considerate and just. That is the opinion of most of the Consular officials, and of the merchants

who have had long experience in dealing with them. No people in the world recognise, and honour more, fair and straightforward conduct; and no traders have a higher standard of commercial morality, or one more rigorously observed.

Go back to the policy of letting trade develop by itself, which we pursued consistently until three or four years ago, when a feeling gained ground that Great Britain was being left out in the cold in the scramble for concessions, and in consequence the British Government acquiesced, reluctantly enough, in the policy, which then became general, of demands and threats and bluster. Sir Robert Hart fell into disfavour from having been the one man whose opinion was trusted. It was said he was more Chinese than the Chinese, and that he could not take an impartial view in consequence; the fact being ignored that although Sir Robert Hart is in Chinese employ, he has not ceased to be a patriotic Englishman, and that he, of all others, from his intimate knowledge of China, from the many years he has spent there, and, above all, from his sympathy with, and comprehension of the Chinese character, was the man best fitted to advance the interests both of China and of Britain. His views did not commend themselves to those who coveted China for an exploiting ground, so his counsels were disregarded; but it would be well now to go back to his policy of mingled firmness and tact. This opinion is gradually making itself felt; for it must not be supposed that all the Europeans in China

approve of the violent attacks which have recently been made upon him. For instance, a writer in the April number of the 'Church Quarterly Review,' speaking with a wide knowledge of China, says:—

> The suggestion of Sir Robert Hart, that the clue to our future dealings with China lies in the abolition of extra-territoriality, has been received with a storm of something like derision. Sir Robert himself distinctly admits that this is not a step which could be taken immediately. Yet we feel bound to say that it seems to us the wisest and most statesmanlike contribution which has yet been made to this vast and tangled question; it is the one proposition which really goes to the root of the matter, and which can alone place all the problems—that of missions included—on their right footing. This step, while recognising the real independence of China, will throw upon her the responsibility which she *must* assume and develop if she is not to fall to pieces. We think with Sir Robert that the Chinese would be, *under normal conditions*, quite fit to be trusted to govern their country without grievously outraging foreigners.

In the East more haste always means less speed. Do not hurry things. Let our trade in China develop quietly and of itself. Do not attempt to force it unduly, and remember that China does not mean to remain in leading-strings for ever any more than Japan has. This is a hard saying for those who have dealt with China for years in all the conscious pride of a stronger race. Nevertheless, until the legitimate desires and aspirations of the Chinese are recognised and respected there will be no security, and until there is security trade will not flourish.

Away from Japan (said to me a Japanese merchant living in London) we get on very well with the Europeans, but not in Japan. There the foreigners dislike us. They knew us when we were children, and they cannot forgive us for growing up.

The same feeling exists in an accentuated form in China, and, until the Governments and the peoples of Europe can divest themselves of it, there will always be trouble in the East.

CHAPTER XV

The Missionary in China

I have kept this subject for the last, for there is no question connected with China so important, and at the same time so complicated, and so difficult to deal with fairly, as that of the missionaries.

On the one side are a number of men and women fired with the enthusiasm of a settled conviction and of a noble resolve, ready, most of them, to sacrifice for it their lives and everything they possess; on the other side are the equally settled convictions of the Chinese, and their rooted aversion to all foreign intrusion, especially when that intrusion is of a nature calculated to emancipate the people from the rule of the mandarin class. There is no hatred so bitter as religious hatred, and until some definite agreement is arrived at, in which some consideration is shown for the feelings and wishes of the Chinese people, and the exigencies of the Chinese Government, there can be no hope of any lasting peace. Moreover, now that Lord Lansdowne has, for reasons of safety, declined to admit missionaries into the Sudan, it makes it difficult for Great Britain, whatever may be the action of the other Powers, to refuse to

recognise the same inherent right of the Chinese Government, for similar reasons, to enforce a like restriction of entry, not into the Treaty Ports, but into the disturbed districts of the interior.

But to appreciate fully the complexity of the subject it is necessary to glance briefly at the recent history of evangelisation in China. At the present moment the missionaries number considerably more than 4,000 (the actual figures being, I believe, 3,000 men, of whom half are Roman Catholics, and 1,600 women, of whom ouly some 300 are of that faith); but before the Treaties of Tientsin, in 1858, there were only a handful of Protestants, and not a great many Roman Catholics, the schism between the Jesuits and the other religious orders, with regard to ancestor worship, having resulted in the gradual effacement of the marvellous work effected by the Jesuits a couple of centuries earlier—a work which at one time gave promise of the rapid conversion of the whole of China to the Catholic faith.

In previous treaties with China no mention is made either of missionaries or of the Christian religion, but Art. VIII. of the English Treaty of Tientsin provided as follows:—

> The Christian religion, as professed by Protestants or Roman Catholics, inculcates the practice of virtue, and teaches man to do as he would be done by. Persons teaching it or professing it, therefore, shall alike be entitled to the protection of the Chinese authorities; nor shall any such peaceably pursuing their calling, and not offending against the laws, be persecuted or interfered with.

Art. XIII. of the French Treaty is similar in purport, but goes more into detail, and it provides, *inter alia*, that missionaries, like *all* French subjects, shall be at liberty to travel (not reside) in the interior, if provided with proper passports. This treaty was, however, subsequently supplemented by a Convention signed in Peking in 1860, of which I will set out Art. VI. in full, as it is upon a fraudulent translation of it that missionaries of all denominations and of all nationalities have ever since, by virtue of the most-favoured-nation clause, enjoyed privileges in excess of those accorded to other Europeans, and not contemplated by the contracting Powers when the Convention was signed. The article runs thus:—

Conformément à l'Edit Impérial rendu le vingt mars mil huit cent quarante six, par l'auguste Empereur Tao-'Kouang, les établissements religieux et de bienfaisance qui ont été confisqués aux chrétiens pendant les persécutions dont ils ont été les victimes seront rendus à leurs propriétaires par l'entremise du Ministre de France en Chine, auquel le Gouvernement Impérial les fera délivrer avec les autres édifices qui en dépendaient.

The French priest who was employed to translate the Convention into Chinese inserted in place of this article one entirely different, and containing far-reaching proposals never contemplated either by China or by the Powers. (I take the translation from Mr. W. F. Mayer's edition of the Treaties between China and the Foreign Powers):—

It shall be promulgated throughout the length and breadth of the land, in the terms of the Imperial Edict of

February 20, 1846, that it is permitted to all people in all parts of China to propagate and practise the 'teachings of the Lord of Heaven,' to meet together for the preaching of the doctrine, to build churches and to worship; further, all such as indiscriminately arrest Christians shall be punished; and such churches, schools, cemeteries, lands, and buildings as were owned on former occasions by persecuted Christians shall be paid for, and the money handed to the French representative at Peking, for transmission to the Christians in the localities concerned. *It is, in addition, permitted to French missionaries to rent and purchase land in all the provinces, and to erect buildings thereon at pleasure.*

The Convention was signed by the French and Chinese authorities without examination, and the discovery of what had been done was not made until some months after, when the substituted article was brought forward by the French missionaries in support of their new pretensions.

The French Government thereupon availed itself of China's enfeebled condition to insist upon its enforcement, and the British, and indeed all the other foreign Governments, except Russia, took advantage of it also, under the general agreement of the Powers with China—that no rights should be conferred upon any one nation more favourable than those accorded to all the others; and the Chinese Government, crippled as they were by their recent defeat, were unable to resist, manifestly unjust though the demand was. Its injustice was the more pronounced because by Art. III. of the French Treaty of 1858 it was expressly stipulated that, in any case of disagreement

between the French and Chinese versions, of any treaties or diplomatic correspondence between France and China, the French version should prevail.

Mr. Chester Holcombe, in his recent work, asserts that this article

> was never taken advantage of, directly or indirectly, by either the American, British, or French Governments. The French Minister at Peking officially notified the Chinese authorities that his Government recognised the spurious character of this clause, and would claim no rights under it. The notorious interpolated clause in the French Treaty of 1858 has played no part whatever in the establishment of missionaries in interior districts.[1]

Mr. Holcombe was Secretary of Legation and acting Minister of the United States at Peking, and his statement, therefore, carries great weight, but it is at direct variance with the account of the transaction given by Lord Curzon :—

> The Chinese, however (he says), did not at once detect the fraud; and when they did were either too proud or too fearful of the consequences to contest the point. The British Government professed its readiness to retire from a position which had no solid or legitimate foundation. But as the claim was consistently vindicated by the French, without serious protest from the Chinese, so the British tacitly acquired the right also; and to it is owing the privileged status which the missionaries now enjoy, and which is not shared by a single other class of their countrymen.[2]

I may add, that when discussing the question not

[1] *The Real Chinese Question*, pp. 160, 161.
[2] *Problems of the Far East*, p. 295.

long ago with the secretary of one of the London missionary societies, he said that the interpolated clause was an awkward corner to get round, and that the right of missionaries to reside in the interior ought to be finally settled by definite treaty provision.

The only other treaties which require to be considered are those with America of 1858 and 1868, the United States furnishing almost as many missionaries to China as Great Britain. Art. XXIX. of the first of these treaties is as follows :—

> The principles of the Christian religion, as professed by the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches, are recognised as teaching men to do good, and to do to others as they would have others to do to them. Hereafter those who quietly profess and teach these doctrines shall not be harassed or persecuted on account of their faith. Any persons, whether citizens of the United States or Chinese converts, who according to these tenets peaceably teach and practise the principles of Christianity shall in no case be interfered with or molested.

And in the subsequent Treaty of 1868, known generally as the Burlinghame Treaty, there is no provision giving to missionaries any rights of residence in excess of those granted to ordinary citizens of the United States. It is quite clear, therefore, that the right claimed by the missionaries of all the Powers to acquire land and erect mission buildings, although it has been tacitly acquiesced in by the Chinese for so many years as to have become almost a right by prescription, rests, nevertheless, upon an initial fraud,

thereby violating from the outset the assertion so ostentatiously made that 'the Christian religion teaches man to do as he would be done by.' The privilege ought to have been at once and indignantly rejected by the other missionaries concerned when put forward by the French. It is the canker which has eaten into all subsequent evangelisation, and has contributed in no small degree to the present terrible outbreak; for there is nothing the logically minded Chinaman resents so keenly as a deliberate and unatoned act of injustice. It cuts, indeed, at the very root of missionary influence :—

> Thou, therefore, which teachest another, teachest thou thyself? Thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal? Thou that makest thy boast of the law, through breaking the law dishonourest thou God?

This is the weak point in Mr. Stanley Smith's eloquent defence of the missionaries in China :—

> The Powers (he says) will not leave the Chinese question until adequate guarantees for future security are forthcoming. Surely they will insist on China carrying out the letter and spirit of the treaties, and not annul treaty rights because of the fanatical acts of a handful of Manchu madmen.[1]

It is not, however, China only, but the missionaries and the Powers acting on their behalf, who have violated both the letter and the spirit of the treaties; and until the rights of residence and acquisition of property are legalised by proper treaty provisions

[1] *China from Within.*

missionary work in China will be on a totally different footing from missionary work in any other part of the world. It is built up on an unsound foundation. Still, the rights thus fraudulently assumed, would not have been productive of much mischief had the missionaries confined themselves strictly to the teaching of their doctrines; but as time went on, and their position became more secure, some amongst them, notably the Roman Catholics, began to intermeddle with the courts of law, and to urge the claims of their converts in any litigation in which they might be engaged with an insistence that often led to a grievous miscarriage of justice. The action of the French priests in Sch'zu'an is one instance of this harmful intervention; that of Bishop Anzer and the German Catholics in Shantung is another. Originally all the Roman Catholics in China were under the protection of France, the French having attained great influence in Rome in spite of the renunciation of Catholicism by the French Republic. But some twenty or thirty years ago it was represented to Li Hung Chang that it would be advisable for China to be placed in direct relations with the Vatican, and he sent an Envoy to Rome to arrange the matter. He was successful in his mission, and a Papal Nuncio had actually been appointed, and directed to proceed to Peking, when the French Fathers in China came to hear of what was intended, and one of their members was sent by them to Paris to protest, they being apprehensive of being placed under the control of the

Italian priests. For political reasons it was necessary at that time for the Pope to conciliate France, and the appointment of the Nuncio was consequently cancelled.

The French have always clung tenaciously to their protection of Catholics in Eastern countries, although by so doing they have often injured their commercial prosperity—in Syria, in Yunnan, and, indeed, all through their colonies—by bringing their Government into direct antagonism with their trade interests, and causing friction and ill-feeling with the native populations, who would otherwise have been perfectly friendly. It is a legacy of the French Foreign Office from the days of Louis XIV. which the Republic had been unwilling to give up. The countermanding of the Legate was, however, in every way regrettable, as it would have checked the national intrigues, based on religion, always so fruitful of mischief, which have been particularly harmful in China.

The Catholics remained under French protection until three or four years ago, when the Germans set up a claim to have Shantung regarded as exclusively within their sphere of influence, and Bishop Anzer, a Bavarian, was utilised by the German Government to further its political ends. Bishop Anzer's first step was to urge upon the Pope that the German Catholics should be placed under German protection. France objected, but only feebly, and strong influence was brought to bear in Rome, and

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ultimately the matter was left in Bishop Anzer's hands, who at once carried out the desired transfer. This being effected, he began to assume an offensive and dictatorial tone towards the Tsung-li-Yamên, and to all the district governors, walking into their courts as though a superior, and reporting any official who did not cringe to him to his official superior, and ultimately to Peking. Finally, to put the climax to his proceedings, he obtained permission to build a cathedral in Yu-Chow-Fu, where Confucius lived, and where his shrine is, in the province of Shantung; and this cathedral was actually begun, and its building led to the murder of the two German missionaries, which furnished the pretext for the forcible seizure by Germany of the port of Kiao-Chau.

Until that time the proceedings of the German priests had only been productive of intense local irritation, the Imperial Court and the Manchu officials not paying much heed to them; but when Kiao-chau was lost their prestige with the people was seriously impaired, and as a counter-move they countenanced the Boxer movement as a patriotic association, inventing the fable of invulnerability to gull the credulous peasantry. In a few weeks it spread over the whole Province of Shantung, and thence made its way all over the north of China.

This was the real genesis of Boxerdom, of the famous Ho-Ch'uan Society, which, according to some Chinese scholars, means 'The Fist of Equality,' 'of

Equal Rights in the Courts,' and not the 'Righteous Harmony Fists,' as it is generally translated.

The Association speedily developed into a thoroughly national and patriotic movement; this was not to be wondered at, for the conduct of the Germans in Shantung had become intolerably galling and oppressive. When Mr. Brooks, one of the missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, was murdered early in 1900, the Prefect of Taian-Fu was urged to take immediate action, but he replied: 'Why should so much be made of the death of an Englishman, when a few months ago a German killed a Chinese, and no notice was taken of it?' This was in reference to a brutal case which occurred near Taian-Fu in October 1899. A German engineer was travelling through the province with two German soldiers as an escort. He was riding in front, and they were behind in a cart. Coming from the other direction was a man with a heavily laden wheelbarrow, helped by his son a lad of eighteen. I give the story as it was told me by a European fully acquainted with the facts, who felt very keenly on the subject. The cart and barrow collided, and the lad seized hold of the mules and stopped them; whereupon one of the soldiers struck him violently on the head and fractured his skull, so that he died. The engineer, without saying anything about the matter, allowed himself to be the guest that evening at Taian-Fu of some American missionaries, and left early on the following morning. Late in the day the body was

brought into the town, and was exposed by the prefect at the gate of the city as an example of what foreigners are capable of.

The mere fact of the engineer having stayed for the night with the missionaries was in itself sufficient to arouse a bitter feeling against them, which was heightened by the fact that no reparation of any kind, so far as my informant was able to ascertain, was ever made to the relations of the murdered boy.

This was a bad case of individual violence, indicative of the tone adopted towards the Chinese; but what really contributed more than anything else to the sudden flare-up of the latent hatred against foreigners, and to the formation of the Boxer Association, was the injudicious championship by the priests of their converts' causes.

In one of the Boxer proclamations the following denunciation occurs, showing clearly the grounds on which certain of the missionaries had rendered themselves so greatly disliked:—

> Foreign devils have come with their teachings, and converts to Christianity, Roman Catholics and Protestants, have become numerous. These people are without human relations, but being most cunning they have contracted all the greedy and covetous as converts, and to an unlimited degree have practised oppression, until every good official has been corrupted, and, covetous of foreign wealth, has become their servant.

It cannot, indeed, be too often repeated that the feeling against the missionaries was caused not by

their tenets, or by the quiet exercise of their religion, but by the use made of them politically by their different Governments, and still more by their harmful intermeddling on behalf of their converts in the courts of law.

The disappointed suitors spread abroad all sorts of horrible stories, such as obtain a ready credence amongst a superstitious people: that the missionaries, for instance, made use of children's eyes for medicine; and the whole of the people became inflamed with anger and dread. As the Imperial Decree of June 29, 1900, to the Chinese Ambassadors abroad expressed it:—

> Then some of them began to turn their thoughts on chaos and rebellion, and started the cry against the missionaries and their converts. In the middle of June matters suddenly came to a head, churches and mission premises were attacked, burned, and destroyed, converts were ruthlessly massacred, and the entire population of Peking was incited to rise, forming a fierce and resistless avalanche which it was impossible to keep back.

There is always a strong temptation for missionaries to side with their own people; and this temptation was rendered almost irresistible, and their aid more effective, by an Imperial Decree which the Roman Catholics succeeded in obtaining about the middle of 1899, conferring upon them a recognised Chinese status—bishops that of governors, and priests that of taotais or magistrates—this status carrying with it as a matter of course the right of audience in the courts which they had not before possessed.

The same status was offered to the Protestant missionaries; but Lord Salisbury, acting upon the advice of the bishops, of the Church of England Missions in China, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, refused to allow them to accept it. The bishops based their advice on the ground that it would inevitably lead to misconception and abuse, and that it was in the highest degree undesirable that missionaries should be placed in a position, in which they might make use of their privileges for the material advantage of their converts.

The decision was a wise one, though it met with strong disapproval from many of the missionaries in China; for there, as in the Western world, the more extreme of the Protestant sects have always displayed a tendency to grasp at temporal as well as spiritual authority. 'New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large.'

What action was taken by the United States I have not been able to ascertain; but I do not think that the proposal was accepted by the American Government, on behalf of their missionaries, the bishops of the American Episcopal Church having concurred in the advice given by the Anglican bishops.

And if the question be carefully considered its dangerous character will become at once apparent.

The following extract from a letter from the Kiangyin correspondent of the 'North China Daily

News,' dated June 8, 1900, shows how perniciously it worked in practice:—

> This status has not only been accorded to them here by the officials, but it is thoroughly believed in by all classes. Consequently, no end of appeals have been, and continue to be, made to the missionaries to be allowed to enter the Church because they are in some kind of dispute, or maybe actual or threatened lawsuit. The idea being that once in the Church the enemy will be frightened off. In spite of every effort to oppose this idea by public announcements, posted notices, and tracts scattered broadcast, there are not a few who falsely use the name of both the Catholic and Protestant missions for nefarious purposes.

Liu-Kung-Yi is so impressed with the harm it causes, that he has memorialised the Throne, through the Imperial Commissioners, that the terms of settlement between the Powers and China should include a prohibition of missionaries taking any part in lawsuits, or any position in the courts.

When order has been restored, and missionaries are once more able to proceed into the interior, it is the opinion of many of the ablest and most experienced of them, that they should be permitted to do so only under a strictly enforced passport system; and that women missionaries should no longer be allowed to live by themselves, as they do now in distant provinces and in towns far removed from the Treaty Ports, and with no white men near to assist in case of need; that in future, too, all missionary bodies should be restricted to the bare right of travel granted by the Treaties of Tientsin;

and that the privilege of residence and of acquiring property and land, assumed by them upon the strength of the fraudulently interpolated clause in the French Convention of 1860, should be abandoned. They think, and with reason, that they are more likely to succeed if they limit themselves to the Treaty Ports, with frequent journeys of visitation and inspection in the interior, trusting to their native pastors and catechumens to carry on the work they then initiate; that China should be Christianised, in fact, from the inside rather than from the outside; that they are more likely to produce conviction by working in this manner, than by forcing themselves upon the Chinese, against their wish, in their present sullen and resentful mood, and with the constant danger of bringing about massacres and resulting in punitive expeditions, which do more to retard the progress of Christianity than anything else. Even now some of the societies do not allow their members to purchase house property, or land, in the interior (the Church Missionary Society, for instance, do not). They may only rent houses in the name of a Chinese convert. It would be well if all the societies were to enforce a like rule. With regard to women missionaries, there is a great difference of opinion, both among the missionaries themselves and among the laymen in China. It is a noticeable fact that no women have suffered in towns where they have been living by themselves; they have only been killed where there were men missionaries

also. And, as in India, the women missionaries certainly do an immense amount of good, especially when they are doctors as well as missionaries, for they obtain access to a class of native women whom men missionaries would never be permitted to see. But they ought only to be allowed to proceed into the interior under the authority and protection of a passport.

Moreover, with a system of passports, and with restriction of the freedom of entry, a fuller control could be exercised as to the capabilities of the missionaries selected, for it is not every man, however earnest and however honest, who is fitted to be a missionary. There is such a thing as intellectual fitness as well as moral fitness; and when the words of St. Paul are quoted to justify universal evangelisation, it is forgotten that St. Paul was the very ideal of what a missionary should be—a highly educated man, and full not only of zeal, but of sympathy and tact and worldly wisdom. Moreover, he was one of a very few, and although, as a Roman citizen, he scrupled not to appeal when in difficulties to Rome for succour, the Roman officials were not particularly friendly to him, or disposed to render him much assistance; more likely were they to punish him, or to put him into custody as a dangerous fanatic Their attitude was much the same as that of the Indian officials of to-day towards the Indian missionaries. And it is because of that very attitude that the Indian missionaries have done such wonderful

work: they have had to justify their measures to an unsympathetic Government, under whose absolute control they are.

But in China how different are the conditions! There the missionaries form large and powerful societies, wielding enormous influence, and, for political reasons, having behind them the whole temporal power of the various European communities to which they belong. It behoves them, therefore, as Lord Salisbury reminded them, to bear constantly in mind that indiscreet zeal on their part may lead to strife and bloodshed, and the discredit and ruin of the cause they have so much at heart. 'First the missionary, then the consul, then the gunboat,' is the Chinaman's summing up of the question as it presents itself to him. The missionary problem of the future is to convince him this is not the case; for unless the missionaries can prove that they are wholly disinterested—that they are not, at any rate consciously, the mere pioneers of commerce or the *agents provocateurs* of the European Governments—their efforts cannot fail to bear evil fruit. Of this many of them are perfectly aware, and are in consequence most anxious to dissever themselves from all connection with politics, or with the temporal power. Their difficulty is to obtain unanimity of view or concerted action amongst the different Christian societies. The Roman Catholic missionaries are not likely to relinquish the mandarin privileges which have been accorded to them, and they are quite as

numerous as the Protestant missionaries, and have a far greater number of converts; for out of an estimated total of 700,000 Chinese Christians, more than 500,000 are Roman Catholics.

The irony of the situation is rendered the more keen by the fact that France, so zealous in her endeavours to force Catholicism upon the Chinese, has rejected it for herself; and that Germany, so solicitous now that the martyred Chinese Christians should be duly avenged, was quite indifferent to the still more terrible fate of the Christians in Armenia, all of whom, as one of their statesmen remarked, were not worth the bones of a single Prussian Grenadier. Can it lead the Chinese to any other conviction than that the Christianity of modern States is only a convenient political weapon, to be taken up or laid aside as the exigencies of the moment may dictate? But whatever action the Catholics take, or their Governments on their behalf, it would be wise for the Protestant societies to disassociate themselves, even more strongly than they have already done, from any interference with the social and political life of the Chinese, from any attempt to form their converts into separate communities with, to the Chinese mind, invidious privileges, distinct from the rest of the community; to make of them less loyal subjects of the Chinese Government, less patriotic Chinamen, because they have adopted the Christian faith. Up to the time of the Imperial Decree conferring mandarin rank upon the Roman Catholics, all

missionaries, Roman Catholic and Protestant alike, have been treated by the Chinese Government, under the most-favoured-nation clause, as on the same footing; but by the refusal of the Protestant missionaries to accept the proffered rank a sharp division was made between Catholics and Protestants, which it would be well to maintain.

And for the present it would be well if the wishes of the Yangtze Viceroys could be scrupulously respected. Both Chang-Chih-Tung and Liu K'un Yi have repeatedly expressed their desire that all foreigners and missionaries, until the country is more settled, should refrain from travelling in the interior in places where it might be difficult to afford them adequate protection. Mr. Fraser, the British Consul at Hankow, specially mentions in one of his despatches that Chang-Chih-Tung was gratified to hear that he had advised the calling in of all women and children from outlying districts.

And this restriction upon travel ought not to be relaxed for some time to come, for there is no mistaking the strength of the anti-foreign feeling all over China. Admiral Seymour, in his report to the Admiralty dated August 8, 1900, says:—

> The opinion formed after my interviews with Liu K'un Yi is that he is quite sincere in his efforts to maintain peace in the Yangtze Valley, but that the people are in such an excited state of mind it would take a very little to cause a general rising against foreigners. The Viceroy, I believe, is doing his best to allay this feeling, and we should assist

him as far as we can by doing nothing that may tend to further excitement. In making the passage between Shanghai and Nanking I noticed that the armaments of some of the fortifications have been increased, and there are many signs of preparedness for the defence of the river. This is probably a defensive measure only, and a natural one to take in view of the large number of ships of war of all nationalities now in China or being sent there. Unless this were done, it is likely that the people would rise against their governors, believing, as they do, that the foreigners have intentions against the integrity of China. Whatever differences there may be between the Chinese, there is now one bond common to all—dislike of foreigners and determination to resist aggression.

This was written nearly a year ago; but the anti-foreign feeling is even bitterer now than it was then, owing to the long continuance of hostilities, and to the poverty and distress caused thereby.

It will take years, and the exercise of much tact and consideration, to eradicate it, so it is to be hoped that the missionaries will themselves see the reasonableness of the Viceroys' request, and will for the present confine their work to the Treaty Ports. Still it would be well if the British Government were definitely to prohibit their going into the interior except under a passport. They are not allowed to enter Afghanistan (Peshawur being the furthest place to which they may proceed) for fear of political consequences; and now the Foreign Office has prohibited their entry into the Sudan, so there is surely no reason why, for a time, the interior of China should not also be closed to them, except under

special safeguards. It is not only *their* lives that are endangered—it is the peace of the world; and the danger arises most strongly in the case of women and children, whose death *must* inevitably be followed by punishment, and the fullest expiation.

And in connection with this question, it is but fair to consider for a moment the deliberate policy of exclusion adopted by several of the Powers towards China, and in a lesser degree towards Japan.

All Chinese labourers are excluded, wisely enough, from Russia, from America, and from most of the British Colonies.

A Decree of the Czar dated November 22, 1886, prohibits them from coming into Russian territory, and special precautions are now to be taken to prevent them from crowding over into Siberia from the famine-stricken provinces of the north of China. They are forbidden to enter Australia, except under certain specified conditions, by a series of Acts dating from 1859 to 1888, which have been upheld by a Privy Council decision; from Canada by an Act of 1887; and from the United States, except under special certificate, by the Acts of 1882 and 1888, supplemented by the Geary Act of 1892 (which Acts by the resolution of annexation of 1898 have now been extended to the Hawaiian Islands). The object of all these various Acts is to prevent the swamping of the white labourers of these different countries by an influx of Chinese labourers accustomed to work for much less, and to live in a far more frugal way;

the result of their competition being almost invariably labour riots, and a general upset of the usages of the society into which they intrude.

The intentions of the United States Acts are clearly set forth in the Treaty of 1880 between that country and China, upon which those successive Acts are based :—

> Whenever, in the opinion of the Government of the United States, the coming of Chinese labourers into the United States, or their residence therein, affects or threatens to affect the interests of that country, or to endanger the good order of the said country, or of any locality within the territory thereof, the Government of China agrees that the Government of the United States may regulate, limit, or suspend such coming or residence, but may not actually prohibit it. The limitation or suspension shall be reasonable, and shall apply only to Chinese who go to the United States as labourers, other classes not being included in the limitation.

But by Section XV. of the Act of 1882 the term 'labourers' is to include skilled as well as unskilled labour; and it has been held by the United States courts, that the wife of a Chinese labourer is not entitled to enter the United States under her husband's certificate.

Few who have studied the subject will question the desirability of these enactments; but there ought surely to be a reciprocity of prohibition. The Chinese have a dense population, and are essentially a nation of labourers. They do not fear foreign competition in labour, but they do fear the influx,

bon gré mal gré, of missionaries, and of capitalists, both of whom derange the constitution of their society quite as much as Chinese labour deranges that of the countries in which it seeks to gain a footing.

The enforced introduction of these two classes has been found, most disastrously—to adopt the words of the American Act—to endanger the good order of China; and when peace is once more restored, the Chinese Government are in justice entitled to the same right of regulating and limiting their entry into the interior of China, as has been exercised by other countries with regard to the introduction therein of Chinese labour.

CHAPTER XVI

The Missionary in China

Another question there is, connected with the future of evangelisation in China, which is at the present moment of extreme importance—that relating to the indemnities to be claimed by the various missionary bodies, and by individual missionaries, from the Chinese Government. It is a very serious question, for much will depend on the action they now take. Several of the societies have already decided to accept no compensation whatever for loss either of life or property. Such a course will assuredly effect more for Christianity, both in China and in nominally Christian countries, than that embodied in the resolution passed by the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, affirming

> the righteousness of using all legitimate means to obtain restitution for loss of property both of the mission and of the missionary. They do not anticipate that acceptance of compensation, by way of restitution, of the Church Missionary Society in this instance is likely to impede the evangelisation of China. They therefore see no reason for refraining from accepting such compensation as Her Majesty's Government might think it right to obtain.

That belief is not universally shared in China; on

the contrary, it is believed by many, in a position to know, that the heavy claims advanced by some of the societies, together with the vindictive spirit exhibited by certain of their individual members, have done, and will continue to do, great and lasting injury to the missionary cause, and that only a self-denying ordinance, such as that adopted by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (which has lost many of its members, and a great deal of property), to accept no compensation of any kind from the Chinese Government, but to make good the losses sustained, both by the missionaries themselves and by the societies to which they belong, by subscriptions from their supporters at home, will avail to counteract the mischief that has already been caused. The Chinese have a long memory, and a step of this kind would win their respect as nothing else could; just as a contrary action will breed in their minds a confirmed suspicion and dislike. With regard to the Church Missionary Society, I must add that the foregoing resolution was passed entirely on the theoretical assumption that it would have a bad effect in China if the Chinese were not severely punished—if they were not made to pay heavily for the crimes of which they have been guilty. They have little personal interest in the matter, for not a single one of their members has been killed, and very little of their property has been damaged. Their work is mostly in Mid-China, and they are not represented in Peking at all.

Moreover, it must not be thought that all the missionaries have joined in the cry for vengeance which, naturally enough, went up from the European population of China when the news of the terrible massacres in the interior first filtered through to the Treaty Ports. Most of them, even in that hour of agony, kept cool, and held in restraint the passion it was so difficult to control. A nobler protest was never made than that uttered by Bishop Moule, the Bishop of Mid-China, in the thanksgiving sermon for the relief of the Legations in Peking, which he preached in Shanghai on August 26, 1900:—

> Some people write as if the three hundred million people of China were all to be judged—the higher classes by the standard of the truculent Empress Dowager and Prince Tuan, the lower by the human fiends who wrought the horrors of Shansi and Honan, of Pao-ting-fu, and, nearer to us, of Kuchou, in Chekiang. It is not fair; it is not manly. Have not a number of Chinese scholars suffered at the hands of their savage rulers, martyrs in the cause of reform? I have lived a neighbour of the Chinese —my dwelling always in the heart of their cities—for forty years. I have passed through more than one period of dangerous excitement with them, and I say it is not fair to generalise like that. Shall we not have pity on the great majority of the three hundred million Chinese, who are innocent of the crimes which call aloud for punishment, many of whom are friendly to us, many of those who are unfriendly, unfriendly either through ignorance, or, alas! because they have suffered at the hands of some of us, but who, in any such conquest of China as is advocated, are sure to be the chief and innocent sufferers?

But there are some who have written and spoken

in a very different spirit—the pages of the Shanghai papers testify to that—and, unfortunately, their utterances have attracted more attention than those of tolerant men like Bishop Moule, representing, though he does, by far the greater bulk of missionary opinion.

Nor can it be denied that the terrible cruelties committed by the Allied troops, during the last few months in Northern China, have given both the Chinese and the Japanese grave reason to doubt the superior virtue of the religion we have been endeavouring to force upon them. The more reason that the missionaries should stand aside from all political discussions, should make it absolutely clear that the Kingdom they seek is not of this world. Soon after the relief of the Legations a Japanese officer uttered this well-deserved criticism:—

> After the massacre in Port Arthur, you Europeans said that we had behaved with great cruelty, and we felt your rebuke keenly, and determined that such a thing should never happen again; but since we have seen what you yourselves are capable of, we do not feel quite sure that you are qualified to teach us.

China is passing through a terrible ordeal, and as the missionaries act towards her now, so will be the measure of their influence hereafter—there can be no doubt of that; and the one thing that is important, above all others, is that they should disassociate themselves absolutely from participation in the struggle now going on; that they should take no part

in the discussion as to the punishment to be inflicted on the guilty officials, or as to the terms to be imposed on China by the Powers, or the amount of the indemnities to be exacted from her for the damage she has done; that for the future they should rigidly abstain from all interference in the courts, and from the exercise of any political influence on behalf of their converts; and that they should make no effort to force their religion upon an unwilling people, or take advantage of China's present weakness to extort concessions from her which she is not willing of herself to give. For this reason it is to be regretted that the missionaries in Peking should have insisted upon forcing their views upon the ambassadors, as they seem to have done, both with regard to their own indemnities, and the compensation to be made to their converts—the latter a particularly dangerous thing, sure to expose these converts to hatred and odium; for there will be thousands of innocent Chinese, who did not join the Boxers, who will not be compensated, although they too have lost all they possessed. This invidious discrimination cannot fail to be productive of intense bitterness. Interference of this kind is deeply to be regretted, and is sure to react disastrously upon the missionaries themselves; for, as Lord Bacon has said concerning all propagation of religion by war:—

> Surely this is to bring down the Holy Ghost, instead of the likeness of a dove, in the shape of a vulture or a raven, and to set out of the bark of a Christian Church a flag of a bark of pirates and assassins.

But the influence of Christianity on the Chinese people must be considered by itself, quite apart from the question of the action, judicious or injudicious, justifiable or unjustifiable, of the various missionary bodies. Nothing has been so remarkable during the recent revolt as the extraordinary number of converts who have suffered the most cruel martyrdom rather than recant. Never again will it be possible to make use of the old sneer that they are all 'rice Christians,' converts only for the sake of the rice, the subsistence that they can obtain from the missions by their change of faith. The heroic way in which they have gone to a horrible death for conscience' sake is the most convincing testimony to the sincerity of their conversion, and to the noble work which those who have been their teachers have, as a whole, done in China. So, too, has been the way in which many of the fugitives have been helped during their flight to the coast, both by their own people and by friendly Chinese, who had learnt to look upon them with affection and respect. Persecution almost always results in the ultimate victory of the persecuted, and the spectacle of thousands of people dying for their belief cannot fail to have had an influence upon those who saw them die. A touching story is told of a convert—I cannot remember whether a Protestant or a Catholic—at Pao-ting-fu, in the early days of the outbreak. He was urged by one of his companions to flee whilst there was yet time, but refused in almost the

words of our own Latimer: 'No, I will remain here, and if I should be killed, it may be that my death will help to spread the cause of Christ.' His body was afterwards found, terribly mutilated, showing that he had been cruelly tortured before being killed. His comrade, who related the story, gave a most human touch to its infinite pathos. 'I felt,' he said, 'that I was only a very little disciple, and not worthy to be a martyr, and so I fled.' How many of us living at home, in a security unbroken for years, can imagine the awful nature of such a trial? and our reverence must go out to those, European and Chinese alike, who have passed unflinchingly through it. Their death will not be without result—of that we may be sure—on the future evangelisation of China; but that evangelisation would be more rapid, more complete, if the missionaries would free themselves entirely from the baneful protection of their Governments, and would trust solely to the persuasive nature of their creed. External force is the upas tree which, in the East, withers all belief in the sincerity of missionary avowals, and paralyses them as nothing else can. It was notably so in Japan so long as the Japanese were afraid that the Bible was but the forerunner of the diplomat; but now that they have made themselves secure from foreign interference, Christianity is spreading all through the land, unhindered by the officials, many of whom are gradually adopting it. It is often asserted that it has had but little practical

result there, but if the statistics are gone into that assertion will be found to be utterly erroneous.

During the war between China and Japan, in 1894, the Government allowed Bibles to be distributed both amongst the soldiers and the sailors, and Colonel Sameshima, the Chief of the Staff, wrote to the British Bible Society in these terms:—

> At the present time our detachment of Imperial Guards feels that for both officers and men spiritual education is highly important. We are very much pleased that you have presented to us a number of Bibles, and Prince Komatsu is exceedingly glad. (Prince Komatsu, I should mention, was next in command to the Emperor.)

And yet as late as 1882, when the British and Foreign Bible Society attempted to open a depôt in Nagasaki, the people were so incensed that a dangerous disturbance took place, which had to be put down by the police.

How different things are now! I travelled from Japan to America with a Japanese of high position, who told me there were over fifty thousand Christians in Japan, that he himself was one, and that there were many others of rank and influence throughout the country. Take away from China the dread that Christianity is only the prelude to territorial disintegration, and the same change will take place there; but let the missionaries now openly and actively ally themselves with the vindictive policy adopted by some of the Powers, and the Chinaman will continue to regard the

Christian convert, not only as a pervert from the faith of his fathers, but as a traitor to his people and his land.

It will be a pity if this conviction should be suffered to take firm hold, for the opportunity for proselytisation is unequalled. The Chinese for several centuries have been in a state of religious indifferentism. Many things indicate that. The Chinaman of the present age is, in fact, in much the same condition of latent scepticism as many latter-day Christians: he has no very earnest convictions, but he does not like to cut himself adrift altogether from the religion of his childhood; as a rule he is frankly agnostic. It may be, he thinks, that what the priests tell him is true; any way, it is better to be on the safe side; it can do no harm. Religious ceremonies with him are a kind of spiritual insurance. One of them confessed as much to a European critic. who was laughing at him for burning joss paper before his idol :—

> How fashion (he said) you belong Christian? You talkee makee die, have got joss. You no can savee proper have got, no got. My belong all same. Suppose have got Devilo more better my chin-chin he. Suppose no have got maskee, only belong few hundred cash one year expense.
>
> (In what way are you a Christian? You say that after death there is a God. You can't tell for certain whether there is or is not. I am in just the same state. If there be a God, it is better I should worship Him. If there is no God, it doesn't matter, it only costs me a few pence a year.)

It is not so in Japan. There the quickening influences of modern civilisation have not only stimulated Christian effort, but have led also to a remarkable vivification of Buddhism, a religion that has in it somewhat of the same missionary spirit as our own. 'Indian Buddhism,' declared Nichiren, a Buddhist reformer who lived in the fourteenth century, 'came to the East; Japanese Buddhism will go to the West;' and the first country to which Japanese Buddhists are turning their attention is China, whither they have already sent a number of their priests.

The extraordinary progress made by Roman Catholicism under the Jesuit missionaries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the immense number of people who flocked to join the Taipings, with their grotesque travesty of Christian worship, show that the Chinese are not satisfied with their own creeds, and might quite possibly accept Christianity if it were put before them in a fair spirit. Unfortunately, alas! the conduct of the Allied troops has not been such as to cause them to view it in a very favourable light; and in this time of their utter misery and desolation, when they must turn to religion of some kind to keep them from despair, they may be driven instead for consolation to the Buddhism which was once so much more of a reality to them than it is now, and in which there is so much that is purifying and ennobling.

As I rode through the streets of Peking one day

last August, with ghastly forms of death on every side, I passed a Buddhist temple, over the door of which was a newly written inscription, on which the ink was not yet dry. Captain Munthe, whom I was with, stopped to read it. 'What a strange people they are!' he said; 'who but a Chinaman would ever have thought, at such a time, of writing this?—"From ten thousand bitternesses wells the eternal peace."'

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